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VENEGAS (Miguel) A Natural and Civil History of Californ
ıccurate Description of that Country, Its Soil, Mountains, Harbo
ınd Seas ; its Animals, Vegetables, Minerals, and famous Fisher
Customs of the Inhabitants, their Religion, Government, and Mann
heir Conversion to the Christian Religion by the missionary Jesu
Accounts of the several Voyages and Attempts made for settling Ca
ıctual Surveys of that Country, its Gulf, and Coast of the Sout
rom the original Spanish . . ., FIRST EDITION IN ENGLISH, *with a fo*
ınd 4 engraved plates, pages (19), 455 ; (7), 387, 2 vols., 8vo, *contem*
abels, 1759

Sabin 98845. Not in Kress. The *History* was compiled from the manuscript
Marcos Burriel, and it extends from the earliest discoveries and accounts of
nd expeditions, the attempts made for its settlement, and the surveys carried
ive valuable appendices in the fourth part: Gomara's description of the outwa
Vizcaino's narrative of his voyage of 1602 for surveying the western coast; Cou
or surveying the eastern coast; Woods Rogers' description of California; and ex
elating to California from Anson's circumnavigation of 1740.

Women of California Frontispiece to Vol. I.

Men of California.

A NATURAL and CIVIL

HISTORY

OF

CALIFORNIA:

CONTAINING

An accurate Deſcription of that COUNTRY,

Its Soil, Mountains, Harbours, Lakes, Rivers, and Seas; its Animals, Vegetables, Minerals, and famous Fiſhery for Pearls.

THE

CUSTOMS of the INHABITANTS,

Their Religion, Government, and Manner of Living, before their Converſion to the Chriſtian Religion by the miſſionary Jeſuits.

TOGETHER WITH

Accounts of the ſeveral Voyages and Attempts made for ſettling California, and taking actual Surveys of that Country, its Gulf, and Coaſt of the South-Sea.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

Copper Plates, and an accurate Map of the Country and the adjacent Seas.

Tranſlated from the original Spaniſh of MIGUEL VENEGAS, a Mexican Jeſuit, publiſhed at Madrid 1758.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for JAMES RIVINGTON and JAMES FLETCHER, at the Oxford Theatre, in Pater-Noſter-Row. 1759.

PREFACE.

THE country of California, taking that denomination in its moſt extenſive ſenſe, has been long diſcovered; notwithſtanding which, it was till lately, but very imperfectly known. Other nations have viſited its coaſts as well as the Spaniards; but as they only touched upon them, a true and full deſcription of this vaſt region could be expected from the Spaniards alone. The firſt accounts publiſhed by them, repreſented it truly, and as it is, a peninſula; but upon the authority of a Spaniſh chart, found accidentally by the Dutch, and of the authenticity of which, there never were, or indeed could be, any proofs obtained, an opinion prevailed, that California was an iſland, and the contrary aſſertion was treated even by the ableſt geographers, as a vulgar error. The famous Deliſle very judiciouſly controverted this notion, and very ably as well as very ingeniouſly, ſhewed that there

were not lights ſufficient at the time he wrote for the deciſion of the point. In this indeterminate ſtate, the thing ſtood till the beginning of the preſent century, when father Kino publiſhed his diſcovery, founded on his paſſage by land, from New Mexico into California; by which it appeared that the Vermillion ſea was no more than a gulf or bay, though of a large extent, and that California was really a peninſula, as the earlier Spaniſh writers had deſcribed it. Thus we ſee that old opinions, more eſpecially when they are grounded on matters of fact, are not to be haſtily rejected, that inquiſitive and even judicious men are capable of being miſled; and that the authority of actual diſcoverers, in queſtions of this ſort, is ſingly to be regarded.

In conſequence of its being ſo imperfectly examined, ſeveral other contradictions, or at leaſt ſeeming contradictions, have been advanced concerning it. There are relations, which make the coaſts of California intolerable, from the piercing cold. There are again accounts, which ſay theſe coaſts are inſupportably hot. Some repreſent it as a region ſterile, void of water,

ter, and not only unimproved, but unimproveable chiefly from this defect. Others ſpeak of it, as fruitful, pleaſant, and having very fine rivers. Complaints are made of its ſhores, as difficult and dangerous, embarraſſed with rocks and ſhoals, and without ſo much as tolerable ports. In oppoſition to theſe, we find it celebrated for a fine beautiful country towards the ſea, into which ſeveral large rivers fall, at the entrance of which are many large and fertile iſlands, and both in them and the continent, ſeveral ſafe and very commodious havens. The variations are as great, in reference to the worth, as in regard to the face of this extenſive peninſula; if we rely on ſome writers, it is a poor barren deſpicable tract, which ſcarce deſerves the protection it has met with. Yet as good judges, and who had equal opportunities of being acquainted with it, alledge, that it is capable of various kinds of cultivation, that there are inconteſtible marks of its containing rich mines, and that there is a profitable pearl fiſhery upon the coaſt. The inhabitants alſo have been painted in the moſt different colours, as ignorant, brutiſh, and irreclaimable by ſome, and

on the contrary, as docile, courteous, and hoſpitable, by others. As applied to different places, and under different circumſtances, there is little of falſhood in any of theſe accounts, but taken generally there is as little in them of truth.

But the principal point that has been always had in view, with reſpect to this country, is its boundary towards the north, which has never yet been aſcertained. There has been mention made of a country, and of a ſtrait of Anian, which is ſuppoſed to ſeparate it from Aſia. Others have affirmed, that California continually ſtretching to the north weſt, approached very near to the north eaſt of Tartary, and that the ſtraits of Anian were to be ſought on that ſide. Some again have affirmed, theſe ſtraits are altogether imaginary, and have talked of proofs, founded on facts, that Indians, converted to the chriſtian faith by the Spaniards, have paſſed by land into China, the truth of which however, has been deſervedly queſtioned. Many think there is an open ſea between the north eaſt of Aſia, and the north weſt of America, while others are perſuaded, that this is only true in part, and that though

though there may be a ſea, yet that this ſea has in it a multitude of iſlands of different ſizes. All theſe, however, are no better than conjectures, upon which no great ſtreſs is to be laid, and therefore we muſt wait for the ſolution of the queſtion, till the ſame ſpirit of diſcovery that brought us firſt acquainted with the Indies and with America, reveals to us, with equal certainty, whether it is ſea or land, or a mixture of both, that intervenes between thoſe two mighty continents.

It is requiſite to obſerve, that this is far from being a matter of idle ſpeculation, ſo far from it, there are very few diſquiſitions that can be juſtly ſtiled of greater conſequence; as rational beings, it concerns us to have a perfect and complete notion of the globe which we inhabit, and we ſee that in this reſpect, providence has very wiſely given the ſpur of curioſity, to the purſuit of what is our real intereſt. As the ſubjects of a maritime power, we have the greater concern in it, ſince every diſcovery of this kind muſt affect our navigation or commerce, nearly or remotely. But with reſpect to this before us, it is of the utmoſt importance, ſince all our at-

tempts for the finding a north weſt paſſage, have been only in other words, finding a new rout to the coaſts of California, which if we are ever happy enough to find, will open to us a ſhort way, as well to a new Indies as to the old. Now the ſureſt means of making ſuch a diſcovery effectually, is by proceeding from the known to the unknown; and therefore the firſt plain, proper, and natural ſtep, is to attain a clear and exact account of California, ſo far as it is diſcovered, which we could only hope from the Spaniards, and which this author has given us in the fulleſt, plaineſt, and moſt accurate method that we could poſſibly deſire. This is the ſole object, this is the true merit of the book, which though not a work of amuſement and entertainment, is full of inſtruction and information, and in that light, no doubt, will be a moſt acceptable preſent to the publick, as will ſufficiently appear, if we conſider the plan of this writer's performance.

He divides his treatiſe into four parts. In the firſt, he diſcourſes of the name, ſituation, and extent of California, that is, taking it in the ſtrict ſenſe, for ſo much of

of this peninſula, as the Spaniards have hitherto reduced. He gives us an account of the gulf, its coaſts, and iſlands. He enlarges upon the ſoil and climate, the natural hiſtory, the pearl fiſhery, and the manna of this country, which is a new diſcovery. Then follows a very diſtinct and curious detail of the nations and languages, the tempers and manners of the Californians, with their policy in peace and war, and laſtly, he treats of their religion; in reſpect to which he obſerves, that thoſe who reſided on the continent, were, when the Spaniards found them, entirely free from any idolatrous notions, had few or no ceremonies, and yet had ſome very ſingular ſpeculative opinions, but that it was otherwiſe in the iſlands, where, through the arts and frauds of a particular race of men, the people were grievouſly enthralled in ſuperſtitious ſlavery.

The ſecond part contains the hiſtory of California, from the time of its firſt diſcovery, to the ſending thither the jeſuits. This diſcovery was made by order of the famous Hernan Cortes, who went thither in perſon in 1536, and landing in the gulf,

gulf, beſtowed upon it his own name, or rather the Spaniards have ſince called it in honour of that great captain, Mar de Cortes, as well as the Vermillion ſea, or the gulf of California. Our author traces very exactly the ſeveral attempts that were made from time to time, for obtaining a more perfect knowledge of the extent and produce of this peninſula, the different projects formed for this purpoſe, both in Old and in New Spain; their repeated diſappointments, and the cauſes of thoſe diſappointments, interſperſed with many judicious and ſenſible remarks, which ſhew the extreme difficulty of executing any great deſign, the conduct of which depends upon the approbation, orders, and inſtructions, that are to come from a country at a great diſtance.

The third part comprehends the reduction of California by the jeſuits, and their tranſactions to the preſent time. He informs us that the court of Spain, and its viceroys in the Indies, tired out with a multitude of fruitleſs, expenſive, and tedious expeditions, had abandoned all further thoughts of this matter, ſo that the proſecution of it was intirely owing to father

father Euſebio Franciſco Kino, who, being ſent as miſſionary into the adjacent province of Sonora, formed a reſolution of trying to penetrate into this deſerted country from thence. The firſt miſſionary of this order however, who paſſed over into this region, was father Salva-Tierra in 1697, and a few years after father Kino penetrated, according to his original deſign, into California by land, and became thereby aſſured, as we have before obſerved, that it was not an iſland but a peninſula. The jeſuits from this time down to the preſent, have had the ſole direction of affairs, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical, in California, and have proſecuted their diſcoveries, converted the Indians, made ſmall ſettlements, cultivated ſome ſpots of ground near them, and with great diligence and perſeverance, have brought ſome little vineyards to ſuch perfection, as to produce wine not inferior to that of Europe. Our author gives a particular, preciſe, and diſtinct account of all theſe tranſactions, ſo that it may be truly ſaid, that though the hiſtory of this part of the world is not big with many great events, yet we have it as clearly and as correctly told,

told, as we can poſſibly deſire. It is very ſingular in its nature, and affords us a very complete view of the policy, of the order, and of the method of reducing nations, to become nominal ſubjects of the crown of Spain, and really ſo to themſelves. It exhibits likewiſe the true notions, which induce the Spaniſh government to make uſe of the fathers in this way, and to permit them to make thoſe acquiſitions by art, which themſelves had ineffectually attempted by force. The author interſperſes very free reflections, not only on the errors of particular adminiſtrations; but on the capital, and if we may ſo ſpeak, conſtitutional faults in the Spaniſh ſyſtem; in conſequence of which, ſome of their richeſt ſettlements are burdenſome, and the great wealth in the bowels of the country is made the cauſe of the miſery and poverty of its inhabitants. Reflections, which the judicious reader will peruſe with profit and pleaſure.

The fourth and laſt part contains ſome additional pieces, referred to in the body of the work. Among theſe, is the famous voyage of captain Sebaſtian Vizcaino, in 1602, in which there is a very

curious

curious and particular account of the weſt coaſt of California; this is followed by a deſcription of the eaſt coaſt, from a voyage made in the year 1746. Then come extracts of captain Woods Rogers and lord Anſon's voyages, with the author's remarks upon them, more eſpecially on the latter, in which he undertakes to controvert ſeveral matters of fact, in reſpect to which, the writer of that work, he ſays, was miſinformed; in this, as indeed throughout the whole book, the author ſhews himſelf a zealous ſubject of the crown of Spain, and an avowed apologiſt for the jeſuits. He is, however, a writer of a very different kind, from the reſt of their panegyriſts. He does not run out, as commonly they do, into long flights of high-flown oratory, but delivers every thing in a grave uniform ſtile, very ſuitable to this kind of hiſtory, is very careful in pointing out his authorities, regular in the detection of facts, and in reſpect to theſe, (thoſe regarding religion excepted) ſhews himſelf equally judicious and cautious, and alike free from prejudice and credulity. He ſeems to be ſenſible that his ſubject did not require, and without viſible impropriety, could

could not admit many ornaments, inſtead therefore of theſe, he ſometimes, but not very frequently, inſerts prudential and political obſervations, relying, however, chiefly on exactneſs and veracity.

There are, notwithſtanding, in the following ſheets, not only many new and curious, but ſome very ſtriking and ſurpriſing, ſome deep and intereſting points, which cannot fail of awakening the attention of the Britiſh reader. He will here diſcern that the Spaniards are in the ſame condition with ſome other nations, they are not unacquainted with the nature of thoſe political maladies, which gradually conſume them, or ignorant of effectual remedies, though they want the power to apply them. He will ſee that Alberoni's ſyſtem extended even to California, and that by embracing the commerce of the Eaſt, as well as the Weſt-Indies, he meant to reſtore the vigour of the Spaniſh monarchy, by reviving a regular circulation through all its members. He will learn that the Spaniards have a well grounded fear of being invaded, even in theſe diſtant parts, by a nation, from whom in the judgment of the moſt penetrating politician,

politician, they would have been thought, half a century ago, in no greater danger than from the inhabitants, if there be any, in the moon. He will be informed, that the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, is far leſs problematical there, in the opinion of thoſe, who, from their ſituation, are the ableſt judges, than it is here, and that the dread of ſeeing the Engliſh form an eſtabliſhment in the remoter parts of this country, and connecting it with their other colonies, is ſo far from being thought an impoſſible, that it is held by thoſe who have the beſt means of knowing, to be a very probable thing. Laſtly, he will ſee it made plain to a demonſtration, that while the Spaniards have the hard taſk impoſed on them, of ſettling, improving, and fortifying the very wildeſt, and worſt parts of this country; the Engliſh, if they ſhould ever think of making any attempt, may ſeat themſelves in a pleaſant climate, fruitful ſoil, and in regions well peopled, from whence they may, with certainty, command the moſt valuable branches of commerce that have been hitherto diſcovered, with the faireſt proſpect of adding ſpeedily to theſe, many others, and thoſe perhaps yet more profitable than are hitherto unknown.

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A

NATURAL and CIVIL

HISTORY

OF

CALIFORNIA.

PART I.

Deſcription of CALIFORNIA, with an account of its inhabitants.

SECT. I.

Of the Name, Situation, and Extent of CALIFORNIA.

THE country which we are going to deſcribe, is diſtinguiſhed in the maps by three different names; California, New Albion, and the Iſlas Carolinas: but the moſt ancient is that of California, being found in Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo, an officer who ſerved under the famous Cortez, in the conqueſt of Mexico, and who publiſhed a hiſtory of that aſtoniſhing expedition. It muſt however be obſerved that the name Cali-

fornia is, by this gentleman, limited to one ſingle bay. It acquired the name of New Albion, from the famous Engliſh admiral ſir Francis Drake, who, in the year 1577, being then on his ſecond voyage round the world, touched at this country. New Albion implies the ſame as New England, or New Britain, Albion being the ancient name of the iſland we now call England. The name Iſlas Carolinas was not given to this country till near a century after, in honour of Charles II. of Spain, when, by his order, the conqueſt of California, then thought an iſland, and the others adjacent, were undertaken with a force equal to the enterprize. This name is uſed by father Henry Scherera, a German jeſuit, in his new Atlas; by M. de Fer, in a ſmall Atlas of the Spaniſh dominions, and which he preſented to king Philip V. on his acceſſion to the throne; and alſo by other geographers, in their Atlaſes and particular maps. But that famous expedition being rendered abortive, the name has not generally prevailed.

The name by which this country is at preſent known, is that of California, an appellation given to it at its firſt diſcovery. Some uſe the name in the plural number, calling it the Californias, intending probably to include that part thought the principal iſland and the

the largeſt in the world, together with a multitude of leſſer iſlands which ſurround it on all ſides. But it being now known, that this country is no iſland, but joined to the continent of America, as we ſhall preſently ſhew, propriety requires, that the word ſhould be uſed only in the ſingular number, in conformity with the military hiſtorian above-mentioned.

I could wiſh to gratify the reader with the etymology and true origin of a name which from the oddneſs of its ſound, the real misfortunes which the firſt diſcoverers met with in that country, and the great riches it is ſuppoſed to contain, has greatly excited the curioſity of the inhabitants both of New Spain and Europe. But in none of the various dialects of the natives could the miſſionaries find the leaſt traces of ſuch a name being given either to the country, or even to any harbour, bay, or ſmall portion of it. Nor can I ſubſcribe to the etymology of ſome writers, who ſuppoſe this name to have been given it by the Spaniards, on their feeling an unuſual heat at their firſt landing here, and thence called the country California, a compound of the two Latin words calida fornax, a hot furnace. I believe few will think our adventurers could boaſt of ſo much literature; for tho' Del Caſtillo praiſes Cortez for his being not only a good humaniſt,

but alſo an excellent poet, and had taken the degree of bachelor of laws; we do not find that either he or his captains took this method in giving names to their conqueſts. I am therefore inclined to think that this name owed its origin to ſome accident: poſſibly to ſome words ſpoken by the Indians, and miſunderſtood by the Spaniards; as happened, according to a very learned American, in the nameing of Peru; and alſo, as we ſhall ſhortly ſhew, in giving name to the nation of Guaycura.

From the name, let us proceed to the ſituation. For the better underſtanding of which, I ſuppoſe America to be divided into two parts, South and North; the former reaching from the iſthmus of Panama to Cape Horn, which vaſt country is poſſeſſed by his catholick majeſty, and divided into two vice royalties, namely Peru and Santa Fe; the latter beginning from the ſame iſthmus, and extending to the North Pole. But in the latter, all the Spaniſh poſſeſſions are under the ſingle vice-royalty of Mexico, which is divided into the four following audiences; that of the iſland of St. Domingo, or Iſla Eſpanola, that of Mexico, that of Guadalaxara, and that of Guaeimala. Beſides theſe, there is alſo that of the Philippine iſlands, the

govern-

government of which is alſo within the vice-royalty of New Spain, tho' the iſlands themſelves are ſo far from being a part of North Ameria, that they lie in Aſia, near the coaſt of China.

But we ſhall only mention the audience of Guadalaxara, on which depend all the countries northward of the province of that name, and alſo ſome tracks on the weſt of Mexico; that is, all the northern provinces of this part of America, one of which is California, the ſubject of this treatiſe.

The celebrated geographer John Bleau *, who is followed by ſeveral others, comprehends, under the name of California, thoſe immenſe tracks lying weſt of New Spain and New Galicia: and comprehended between the northern parts of South America, and the ſtreights of Anian: and thus under the name of California he comprehends New Mexico, the Apaches and others. But he is certainly miſtaken in giving ſuch an extent to California. This province, properly ſpeaking, is a peninſula

* Johannes Bleau, America, quæ eſt geographiæ Blavianæ, pars quinta, liber unus, volumen undecimum. (Amſterlædami 1662.) pag. 70.

" California communiter dicitur, quidquid terrarum " Novæ Hiſpaniæ, atque Novæ Galleciæ ad occidentem " objicitur, quæ ſanè latiſſimè patent, & ad extremos " Americæ meridionalis terminos & fretum, quod vulgò " Anian vocant, pertinent.

in the moſt northern part of America, hitherto diſcovered by the Spaniards, in the Pacifick ocean, or the South ſea; or a large point of land iſſuing from the N. coaſts of America, and extending to the ſouth-eaſt, being waſhed on both ſides by the Pacifick ſea, beyond the tropick; ſo that the ſouth point of it lies in the Torrid Zone, and nearly oppoſite to the province of Guadalaxara, on which it depends. On this point is the famous cape de San Lucas; as likewiſe that de la Porfia, betwixt which is formed the bay of St. Barnabas. The weſtern coaſt of California runs to the northward, is waſhed by the Pacifick ocean above mentioned, and extends 22 degrees to Cape Blanco de San Sebaſtian: and the eaſtern or inward coaſt of California, on an accurate examination, appears to reach 10 degrees, till it meets with the great river Colorado. Between theſe two coaſts is the peninſula, or the neck of land called California; and the arm of the ſea between the eaſtern coaſt of the peninſula and the continent, is called the gulf, or bay of California, which, in ſome places 60, in ſome 50, and in ſome 40 leagues broad, between cape San Lucas and the Rio Colorado, diſcharges its waters into this gulf, where both the coaſts unite, as we ſhall afterwards more particularly obſerve.

Thus

Thus California is a part of N. America, waſhed on the eaſt by a gulf of the ſame name; and on the weſt by the Pacifick, or South ſea; lying within the three limits already mentioned, Cape de San Lucas, the river Colorado, and Cape Blanco de San Sebaſtian.

I have mentioned Cape San Sebaſtian, as the fartheſt limit of California on its weſtern coaſt; not that the coaſt actually terminates there; it unqueſtionably ſtretches itſelf much farther to the northward: but becauſe we have little or no knowledge, either of the coaſt itſelf beyond that cape, the ſea to the weſtward of it, or the immenſe countries to the eaſt; and rather than amuſe the reader with the uncertain accounts given us of both, I thought proper to aſſign a known limit; and ſuch is the above-mentioned cape.

As to its geographical ſituation, there would be nothing left to deſire, were the latitudes and longitudes of the above three limits well aſcertained. But except the jeſuits, very few have ſtaid in California a ſufficient time for making ſuch obſervations; which, if performed with ſufficient accuracy, eſpecially thoſe relating to the longitude, require time, inſtruments, and leiſure. Among the miſſionary jeſuits there have been, and ſtill are,

many who might have performed them with a preciſion, ſufficient to have given ſatisfaction, even to the curioſity of our age. But theſe, beſides other diſtreſſes, labour under the ſame want of mathematical inſtruments, as is ſeen in other countries leſs ſequeſtrated from the commerce of the world. This is one of the particulars which many miſſionaries, brought up in the boſom of ſcience and uſeful arts, have to offer as a ſacrifice to their Creator in this ſolitude; and it is very unjuſt to reproach them with what enhances their merit: and much more ſo, if they can recriminate upon us, that our ignorance is inexcuſable; it being owing to the neglect of theſe very Europeans who make ſuch loud complaints. But till we have the comfort of ſeeing the approach of that happy time, when we ſhall no longer vex each other with complaints of this nature, we muſt defer the accurate determination of the above limits; for I muſt confeſs that I cannot offer any thing with certainty: I ſhall not however, from a fear of committing ſome ſmall error, forbear ſaying ſomething, which at leaſt may afford room for correction and amendments. And here I ſhall mention the moſt modern diſcoveries which have come to my knowledge, omitting thoſe made in more diſtant times,

as

as their authority has been invalidated by later obſervations.

The latitudes being more eaſily determined, the generality of geographers, navigators, and particular narratives agree, that San Lucas lies in 22 degr. 32 min. of N. latitude. The river Colorado in 32 degr. 30 min. and Cape Blanco de San Sebaſtian in 43 degr. 30 min. of the ſame latitude. Some indeed differ a little in their accounts of the latitudes of theſe three places; and it were to be wiſhed, that obſervations could be made with that accuracy the ſubject deſerves; but in ſettling the longitudes of theſe three points, there is an aſtoniſhing difference. A ſkilful miſſionary of California ſays, in his narrative, that Cape San Lucas lies in 145 deg. W. longitude from the common meridian of the iſle of Ferro, which is the ſame as in 215 deg. longitude reckoning from the E. in the uſual manner. This undoubtedly is a miſtake of the amanuenſis; for the fartheſt eaſtern point of Siberia, being in 205 deg. E. longitude, * computed from the ſame meridian, the conſequence would be that the difference between the meridian, paſſing through the ſaid point of Siberia, and that of Cape San Lucas,

* This is the longitude aſſigned to the ſaid cape by capt. Bearings, whom the czar, Peter the great, ſent on a voyage to diſcover the communication of Aſia with America.

would

would be but 10 degrees, which is quite incredible, or to ſpeak more properly, impoſſible. On the contrary, Mexico and Acapulco, which are nearly under the ſame meridian, are uſually placed in 274 deg. from the common meridian. This is confirmed in the chart of the coaſts of the South ſea, by that celebrated ſea officer don George Juan, who places Acapulco in 105 deg. W. longitude from the meridian of the royal obſervatory at Paris, which is equal to 275 deg. longitude from the common meridian. According to this, Mexico and Acapulco would not be above 60 deg. longitude from Cape San Lucas, which is doubtleſs an error. Father Euſebio Franciſco Kino, who, beſides being a miſſionary thirty years in theſe countries, was an eminent mathematician, places the mouth of the river Colorado in 250 deg. longitude. And this is aſſigned in general to Californiа by don Joſeph Antonio de Villa Senor y Sanchez, though, on comparing this with the latitude, which he there ſets down, it will appear to be meant of the neighbourhood of Cape San Lucas. Monſieur de Fer alſo places in 250 deg. what he calls the great river of Coral, which I think can be no other than the Colorado. The ſame geographer places Cape San Lucas 254 deg. longitude, and Cape Mendocino in 233.

Captain

Captain Woods Rogers places Cape San Lucas, in 114 deg. W. longitude from the meridian of London, which is the ſame as 134 from the common meridian. In the Acapulco ſhip taken by the Engliſh, admiral Anſon, was found a map of the South ſea, in which Cape San Lucas was placed in 23 deg. E. longitude, the firſt meridian being that paſſing through the mouth of the river San Bernardino, in the Philippine iſlands; the harbour of Acapulco in 134 deg. from the ſame, according to which there is only 12 deg. difference between Acapulco and San Lucas; and cape San Lucas muſt lie in 263 deg. longitude. The famous geographer monſieur d'Anville differs 10 deg. in the longitude of the river Colorado, placing it from farther Kino, in 100 deg. W. longitude from the common meridian of Ferro; that is 260 of longitude, according to the common method of computation. The ſame geographer places Cape San Lucas betwixt 94 and 95 deg. of the ſame W. longitude, which anſwers to betwixt 265 and 266 of longitude from the ſame meridian. Mr. Henry Ellis, an Engliſh gentleman, one of the adventurers, who lately ſailed from London, in ſearch of a north paſſage to the South ſea, by the way of Hudſon's-bay, places Cape Blanco near Mendocino, in 124 degrees W. longitude from London, which is

equal

equal to 144 of the common long. Monſieur Bellin, an engineer in the French navy, lays down Cape San Lucas in 265 degrees of longitude, Cape Mendocino in 245, and the river Colorado in 260. Laſtly, the above-mentioned officer, don George Juan, in ſome tables of longitude and latitude of the coaſts of America, which he himſelf took from the beſt charts uſed by the South ſea pilots, and which he was ſo kind as to communicate to me, places Cape San Lucas in 263 deg. 50 min. common longitude. Cape Mendocino in 249 deg. 49 min. and the river Colorado in 251 deg. 49 min. In ſuch a variety of opinions, which can we prefer? and poſſibly it was this which occaſioned the prudent reſerve of father Fernando Conſag, who, in the year 1746, took a particular ſurvey of the eaſtern coaſt of California, up to the river Colorado, in order to determine, with accuracy, its ſituation, and the diſpute relating to its junction with the continent, has not ventured to ſet down the long. in his maps. However, in this which I have drawn, I have ventured to depart from his reſpectable example, having ſet down the longitudes I thought reſulted from weighing the different facts and obſervations on which thoſe were founded; and flatter myſelf, that if they are erroneous, they will be of ſome uſe

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a copy of it will be placed
s work; where the curious
e read the moſt certain ac-
counts

An accurate Map of California Drawn by the Society of Jesuits
Dedicated to the KING of SPAIN
CALIFORNIA OR CORTES'S RED SEA
GULPH OF CALIFORNIA
PROVINCE OF SONORA
PROVINCE OF CINALOA
PROVINCE of Otsimuri
Province of
APACHES
PAPAGOS
PIMERIA
SERIS
GUAIMAS
COCOMARICOPAS
YUMAS
PERICUES
Cape St Lucas
Cape St Barnaby
Cape Pascuarance
Cape St Francisco
Cape St Augustin
Cape St Lazarus
Cape St Philip
Cape St Jacob
Cape St Mary Magdalen
Cape St Thomas
Cape St Michael
Cape St Mark
Cape St Ildefonso
Cape St Tarquinius
Cape St Michael
Cape St Mark
Cape St Barnaby
Cape St Jacob
Cape St Thomas

in making the corrections which obſervations may hereafter ſhew to be neceſſary.

SECT. II.

Account of the gulf of California, its coaſts, and iſlands.

It has been the earneſt deſire of the jeſuits, ſince their firſt entrance into California, to take an exact and particular view of the outward or W. coaſt of this peninſula, which is waſhed by the Pacifick Ocean, or South ſea. But hitherto a thouſand inconveniencies and difficulties have hindered them from executing this laudable deſign, except in ſome places only, of which we ſhall give an account in its proper place. Previouſly to the entrance of the jeſuits, many diſcoveries had been made of this coaſt; but none ſo accurate as that in 1602, under general Sebaſtian Vizcaino, by order of Philip III. A narrative of this voyage was written by Antonio della Aſcenſion, a barefooted Carmelite, who accompanied the general, and of which Juan de Torquemada has made a faithful extract, too large indeed to be inſerted here, but too important to be omitted, and therefore a copy of it will be placed at the end of this work; where the curious may at their leiſure read the moſt certain accounts

counts we are poſſeſſed of, relating to this weſtern coaſt. In the mean time, to avoid repetitions, we ſhall paſs over the deſcription of it, and proceed to give an account of the ſea or gulf of California; and of the contiguous coaſts in which it is incloſed.

This gulf is an arm of the Pacifick ſea, intercepted between Cape de Corrientes on one ſide, and Cape St. Lucas on the other; that is, betwixt the two coaſts of New Spain and California, till it joins the mouth of the great river Colorado. It has a near reſemblance to the Adriatick, a branch of the Mediterranean formed by the coaſt of Italy, and that of Dalmatia in Greece. The ancient diſcoverers called it Mar Barmejo, and Mar Roxo, the Red ſea, from its reſembling in form, and ſometimes in colour and appearance, the gulf of Arabia, which runs from Suez, betwixt the coaſts of Africa and Aſia, and is celebrated for the Iſraelites paſſing it on foot. It has alſo been called Mar de Cortes, in compliance with the ſolicitude of the conqueror of the Mexican empire, in order to augment the glory of his enterprizes. The more modern miſſionaries give it the name of Seno Lauritano, in honour of our lady of Loretto, the protectreſs and patroneſs of that miſſion. Likewiſe Mar del Oriente, becauſe it lies to the eaſtward of Cali-

fornia, and for a contrary reaſon they give the name of Mar de Poniente, or Weſt ſea to the Pacifick ocean, which, in reſpect of the gulf of Mexico, lies to the northward. Accordingly, under that extenſive name, it is now called Mar del Zur, or the South ſea.

The Cape Corrientes lies in two deg. of latitude leſs than Cape St. Lucas: yet, as from it the coaſt of new Spain takes a different direction, the gulf is generally ſaid to begin from theſe two capes, the mouth of the ſea of California being intercepted between them. Cape Corrientes, according to don George Juan, lies in 268 deg. 10 min. eaſt long. from the meridian of the iſle of Ferro, and in 20 deg. 20 min. north lat. Northward of this cape, on the coaſt of new Spain, beſides the parts of leſs note, are the bay of Valle de Vanderas, at a ſmall diſtance from the cape; and in almoſt 22 deg. north lat. Matanchel harbour; and beyond it the mouth of the river St. Jago, with ſome ſmall iſles near it. Twenty leagues weſt of this part of the coaſt, in the middle of the entrance of the bay of California, are four ſmall iſlands, called San Juan and the three Maries. Along the ſame coaſt are four rivers, San Pedro, Acaponeta, the name alſo of a town lying in 22 deg. 10 min. N. lat. Cannas, which divides the kingdom

of

of new Galicia from the province of Cinaloa, and the dioceſs of Durango from that of Guadalaxara; and the Chiametla in the province of the ſame name, facing which is the iſland of Santa Iſabel. Afterwards we meet with the rivers Maſatlan, with the iſlands of the ſame name, and of thoſe of Galicia forming the harbour of St. Sebaſtian; and in the ſea, the iſland de los Bendos. On the continuation of the coaſt is Punta Negra, which projects a great way into the ſea, and the rivers of Piaſtla, Elota, Tavala, and Culiacan, which gives name to a town and province in the lat. of 25 deg. north, as does that of Cinaloa, in about 26. Not far diſtant, in the ſea, is a vaſt rock, or rather ſmall iſland. Oppoſite to this coaſt, are the bay of Santa Maria, the river and port of Ahome, in 26 deg. 30 min. lat. the river Puerte, the largeſt of any in theſe provinces, the Eſteros, and the port of Santa Lucas, formed by an iſland, and a little beyond, in almoſt 28 deg. and within ſight of the mine mountain, de los Frayles and the river Mayo, which diſcharges itſelf into the harbour of Santa Cruz.

On the other ſide of the river Mayo begins the province of Oſtimuri, extending 40 leagues to the river Chico, in which is incloſed part of the Pimeria Baxa. On the eaſt is the bay of Santa

Santa Cruz, the creeks of St. Martin, and St. Bartholomew, and the Punta de Lobos. About 29 deg. the river Yaqui, or San Ignacio falls into the ſea, forming Yaqui harbour, betwixt the villages of Belen and Raun; and which for its ſeveral conveniencies, is the moſt frequented by the California barks. From this river begins the province of Sonora, which is of a vaſt extent up the country; and this ſide of the continent was the laſt conquered by the Spaniards, and converted by the jeſuits. In following the coaſt are found the harbour of Xavier, the bay of San Joſeph de los Guaymas, and the river de Sonora, the name of the whole province.

From this part, as far as Caborca, which is 90 leagues from the river Yaqui, the coaſt, on account of its being very barren and rocky, has the appearance of a deſert, all its inhabitants being a few Indian Seris and Tepocas, who are all totally heathens, or very imperfectly inſtructed in chriſtianity. It contains the great bay of San Juan Baptiſta, near which is the iſland of San Auguſtin; and farther to the weſtward, that of San Eſtevan. Further to the northward is the iſland of San Pedro, near the coaſt of the Seris. A little beyond falls into the ſea, the ſmall river which waters the miſſion of the Concepcion de Caborca, a tract

of land lying up the country about two leagues from the ſea. This was the laſt chriſtian ſettlement formed in the province of Pimeria Alta, within the government of Sonora, and lies in 31 deg. N. latitude. But in 1751 the Indians, inſenſible of their happineſs, revolted and deſtroyed it, and the two miſſionary jeſuits ſettled there, ſuffering a glorious martyrdom. Not far from this ſtream, father Euſebio Franciſco Kino diſcovered an harbour, which he called Santa Sabina; and near the ſhore, a ſmall iſland, about three leagues in length, to which he gave the name of Santa Ines. In the remaining part of the coaſt, from 31 deg. many geographers, both ancient and modern, placed the rivers Coral, Tizon, Santa Clara, Amgouche, Perlas, and Lajas, the ſhoals, with other capes and harbours. But father Kino, who made ſeveral tours along this country, and was a very accurate obſerver, from the river Caborca, to the Colorado, met with nothing worth inſerting in his maps, except the rivulet of Santa Clara, which runs into the ſea. Paſſing by the ſkirts of the mountains of that name, called by the ſame father del Carrizal and San Marcelo, in lat. 31 deg. 30 min. he was ſo far from meeting with any ſuch rivers, that he has inſerted only one piece of water from Santa Clara to the river Colorado; which

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he calls Tres-Ojitos, or three little eyes, and is ſituated near the abovementioned rivulet of Santa Clara. Relying therefore on father Kino's narratives and maps, it may be confidently affirmed, that from the brook of Santa Clara, the bearing of the coaſt alters, running directly from E. to W. for the ſpace of half a degree; where it again winds to the north. The reſt of the coaſt is all a barren ſand, as far as the river Colorado, which, as we have before obſerved, falls into the ſea in 32 deg. 30 min. north latitude. Above this there can be none of the above-mentioned rivers, this being the utmoſt limit of the gulf, where the eaſtern coaſt of California, and that of the continent of New Spain join with the banks of the above river.

Of all the rivers in the vaſt extent of the vice-royalty of Mexico, this is the largeſt. Its mouth at its entrance into the gulf, being near a league in breadth. In it are formed three ſmall iſlands, which by reducing it into channels, increaſes the rapidity of its currents. According to the accounts of father Kino, who, from the commencement of the miſſion of Pimeria Alta, in the cloſe of the laſt century, and beginning of the preſent, ſailed up the river Colorado ſeveral times; and according to the teſtimony of father James Sedelmayer, a miſſionary of Caborca and Tubutama, who, in

his indefatigable zeal, likewiſe entered that river ſeveral times ſince the year 1744, particularly in October 1748. The river Colorado runs directly N. and S. from the 34th degree, till it loſes itſelf in the ſea. About the 35th degree, it receives the large river Gila, and runs in one continued ſtream N. E. and S. W. to about the 34th degree, which is alſo the courſe of the Colorado, till the junction of the two rivers, and its banks are ſo far inhabited by this nation of the Alchedomas. The courſe of the Gila, from the country of the Apaches is E. and W. and before its influx into the Colorado, it is enlarged by the river Aſſuncion, a name given by friar Sedelmayer to another large river which he met with beſides the Gila, and which is joined by two other ſmaller rivers, by him called Rio Salado, and Rio Verde. The river Gila is about 100 leagues from the laſt miſſions of Sonora and Pimeria; and conſequently above 600 leagues N. of Mexico.

It now remains to give a deſcription of the gulf on the ſide of California, its weſtern coaſt. The gulf begins from the bay of St. Barnaby, is incloſed betwixt two capes; the moſt ſouthern of which is that of St. Lucas; and the inward called Porſia, into which the little river flowing thro' the miſſion of St. Joſeph de Los Coras falls. Within the gulf is the bay of

Las

Las Palmas: and beyond that, another called Serralvo; and alſo an iſland in the middle of the ſea facing it. From hence the coaſt runs to the northward inclining to the weſt, as far as the heights of Santa Cruz, and the iſland Roſario, where it runs due weſt; and afterwards winding from north to ſouth, forms a point of land in the gulf, which runs from ſouth-weſt to north-eaſt; and oppoſite to this point is the iſland de St. Spiritu Santo. This cape forms the ſpacious bay de la Paz, lying in 23 deg. 30 min. north latitude, in which is the harbour Pitchilingues, and near it a vaſt number of ſmall iſlands. This bay was the place where admiral don Iſidro de Otondo y Antillon arrived in his firſt voyage to California; and here he continued four months, till the 31ſt of March 1683. Afterwards he ſailed about 60 leagues to the northward, namely, as far as the bay de los Dolores; in the language of the country called de Apate; and facing its coaſt lies the iſland of San Joſeph, and others called Las Animas, San Diego, Santa Cruz, Montalvan, and Catalana. Immediately after, the coaſt forms the bay of San Carlos, which is entirely ſurrounded with ſmall iſlands. And beyond the coaſt of Malibat is Loretto-bay, before called San Dionyſio, and in the country Idiom Concho; in which, as we have before obſerved, is the firſt miſſion

founded in California, and conſecrated to our lady of Loretto, the protectreſs and patroneſs of this conqueſt. It lies in the latitude of 26 deg. north. In this bay are the ſmall iſlands of Montſerrat and San Marcial; alſo that of Carmen, which is larger and farther up the gulf. Betwixt this and the coaſt of Ligui lies the iſland of Los Danzantes; and farther up, thoſe of San Coſme, San Damain and Coronados.

Not far from theſe iſlands, and that called La Meſtiza, the ſea forms the little bay of San Bruno, in which are ſeveral iſlands called San Juanico; and where admiral Otondo pitched his camp. Beyond a point of land projecting into the ſea, to which its figure has given the name of Pulpito, begins the bay of Comondu, facing which is the iſland of San Ildefonſo. From this part, the ſea, running directly N. and returning immediately from N. to S. forms another point of land reſembling that of La Paz above-mentioned, but narrower, betwixt which and the coaſt is Concepcion bay, but the mouth of it is obſtructed with a cluſter of ſmall iſlands; its latitude is about 27 deg. About two leagues from this bay, the river Mulege enters the bay of California, and beyond it is Cape San Marcos. Oppoſite to the cape, in the middle of the ſtreight,

ſtreight, lies the iſland of Tortuga, or Tortoiſe iſland; and on the S. ſide thoſe called the Tortuguillas, or the little Tortoiſes, and on the N. others called the Galapagos, or Snails: hence the coaſt ſtretches away a little inclining to the N. to Cape Virgenes, as the neighbouring chain of mountains is called; among which, in the year 1746, were found ſeveral volcanos. Beyond this cape the coaſt inclines more to the W. At a ſmall diſtance is the harbour of Santa Ana, and three leagues further San Carlos, which lies in 28 deg. of N. latitude. Here, on the 9th of June 1746, father Fernand Conſago, by order of father Chriſtoval de Eſcobar, provincial of New-Spain, came up with four canoes, in order to take a ſurvey of the remaining part of the coaſt terminated by the river Colorado. Beyond the harbours of Trinidad, San Barnabe, and San Juan, and the cape and bay of San Miguel de la Pepena, is cape San Gabriel de las Almejas, or St. Gabriel of the Muſcles, a promontory ſo dreaded by all navigators on this coaſt, that they have nicknamed it Punta de ſal Sipuedes, or Point Eſcape keep off if you can. The latitude of this cape is 29°. 30′. N. Beyond this point of land is an infinite number of iſlands, which, or account of the trouble and danger ariſing from

the multitude of them, are alſo called Iſlas de Sal-ſi Pueds. The greateſt place of note along the coaſt, is the bay of San Raphael, and betwixt it and San Gabriel is the iſland of San Lorenzo, together with others of a ſmaller magnitude. Further up is the bay of Las Animas; and that of Los Angeles, from whence the coaſt continues to San Juan and San Pablo, which with the large iſland of Angel de la Guarda forms the canal of de las Ballenas, or Whales; ſo called from the great numbers of them ſeen there. Beyond the bay of San Luis Gonzaga, and that of the Viſitacion, the coaſt lies due N. and S. to the bay of San Phelipe de Jeſus, forming in the intervals the harbours of Santa Iſabel and San Fermin, and from beyond San Fermin and San Buenaventura it is covered with marſhes, and lies S. W. and N. E. or between the N. and E. from the mouth of the Colorado, to the utmoſt limit of the gulf of California, as we have before remarked.

SECT. III.

Deſcription of the country of CALIFORNIA, with an account of the nature of its ſoil.

It may be confidently affirmed, that till the beginning of this century, no European had pene-

penetrated into the inland parts of California; and conſequently what account any one pretended to give of it, muſt have been only uncertain inferences from the little he had obſerved on the coaſt. However from a deſire of alleviating, in ſome meaſure, by ſtrange and ſurpriſing accounts, the uneaſy ſenſations ariſing from the miſcarrage of the enterpriſes for its conqueſt, and the pleaſure with which the attention and wonder of the hearers flatters the relator, as one who has been an eye-witneſs of ſuch ſtrange things, ſtimulated many at their ignominious return from thoſe expeditions to court popularity, palliate miſcarriages, and render their company acceptable by a fruitful invention of fables. The frequent repetition of theſe opened a door for improvement and emulation. The laſt who arrived, thought themſelves obliged to add ſome circumſtances of greater terror and wonder, than what had been related by the firſt adventurers: and this they did with the leſs caution, as their narratives could not be eaſily diſproved.

Even the jeſuits themſelves could not give an entire and authentick account of this peninſula on their firſt arrival; it was a work of years for them to penetrate into the inland parts, and take at leiſure a ſurvey of it, in order

order to give the world a juſt account. What errors would that perſon commit, who ſhould deſcribe the nature and qualities of Spain, when his obſervations had been confined to a ſmall part of its coaſt? I ſhall not therefore repeat the erroneous accounts of former adventurers, but lay before the reader, what is aſcertained by repeated modern accounts.

The length of California from cape San Lucas to the northern limit already conquered, is about 300 leagues: beſides which, about a diſtrict of a league has been partly known and deſcribed.

Its breadth is ſmall in proportion to its length; for at cape San Lucas it is only 10 leagues, in ſome places 20, in others 30, and in others 40, from one ſea to the other, according to the windings of both coaſts. From the extent of the country, there muſt naturally be a difference in the temperature of the air, and the qualities of the ſoil. But it may be ſaid in general, that the air is dry and hot to a great degree; and that the earth is barren, rugged, wild, every where over-run with mountains, rocks, and ſands, with little water, and conſequently unfit either for agriculture, planting, or graziery. But to ſpeak a little more particularly; for the ſpace of 20 or 30 leagues from cape San Lucas, the air

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is of a more kindly quality, the ground leſs barren and rugged, and little currents of water more frequent than in the other parts. From hence to the garriſon of Loretto, which is near the center of the conquered part, the heat is in general exceſſive, the mountains craggy, and the earth dry and barren. In the remaining part of the conquered country to the furtheſt miſſions, the air is more moderate, ſo that at ſome ſeaſons of the year water freezes; but the wild diſpoſition of the country is the ſame. From the 28th degree, as far as has been diſcovered along the coaſt of the peninſula, the ſoil is not ſo rugged and full of rocks: yet with no abatement of its remarkable ſterility. Father Kino however, who croſſed the river Colorado, between 34 and 35 degrees, and took a very careful ſurvey of the countries to the weſt of this river, betwixt the channel of Santa Barbara, Puerto de Monte Rey, and Cape Mendocino, aſſures us, that there are level and fruitful tracts, interſperſed with many delightful woods, plenty of water, fine paſtures, and as proper a country for making ſettlements as can be deſired. This account is confirmed by what general Vizcaino met with on the ſea coaſt of thoſe tracts; and ſtill more recently by father Taraval's own experience on the coaſt of San Xavier: and

in the oppoſite iſlands de los Dolores, which form the above named channel of St. Barbara. Both agree that theſe coaſts, either with regard to the air, or plenty of fruits, have little or no affinity with the other parts of California.

The idea therefore which from good authority is to be formed of California as diſcovered for near 300 leagues up the country, is not very advantageous: but, notwithſtanding this country in general is rugged, craggy, and barren, and the air diſagreeable and unhealthy; yet near the coaſt there are ſeveral ſpots that may be greatly improved by agriculture, and would produce all the neceſſaries of life. The vicinity of the ſea with its vapours moderates the heat of the atmoſphere; the ſides of the mountains ſend forth currents of water, without which, indeed ſowing would often fail, on account of the little rain, and the uncertainty of it. Laſtly, it is not without plains both for paſture and tillage. Even in the center of California there are ſome vallies and riſing grounds of a tolerable ſoil, having ſprings for drinking and watering the grounds. In theſe parts it is that the poor Californians have their dwellings; and here likewiſe are the

Cabe-

Cabeceras * of the miſſions, and the villages within their viſitation.

It has been a maxim always to build theſe cabeceras near rivers and waters, to induce the Indians to live in towns, and thereby habituate them to a chriſtian and ſocial life under laws. But along the whole inward coaſt from Cape San Lucas to the river Colorado, there are only two ſtreams, and theſe but ſmall, the firſt paſſes through the miſſion of San Joſeph del Cabo, and diſcharges itſelf into the bay of San Bernabe; the ſecond is the Muleje, which waters the miſſion of Santa Roſalia, and runs into the gulf of California, in the latitude of 27 deg. The other miſſions are near ſome ſprings, whoſe waters generally do not reach the ſea, unleſs in times of great rain. Others do not fall into the gulf, but into the Pacifick ſea on the weſtern coaſt; but as no accurate obſervations have been made on this head, I will not venture to ſay any thing further about the rivers, as it muſt be uncertain.

Monſieur de Fer and other modern geographers place on this coaſt, and in the latitude of 26 deg. near Cape Santa Apollonia, the port of San Martin, that of Anno Nuevo, and

* This is the name of the principal town, in which uſually reſides the miſſionary, who generally has ſeveral ſmall villages under his care.

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the river of Santo Thomé, with this particular, that they were discovered in the year 1648. This was the æra of admiral Otondo's expeditions, in which father Kino accompanied that officer; and though I do not find in the narratives of that expedition, that Otondo ever went on shore, only to visit the harbours of the eastern coast and the gulf; yet from the ardent curiosity of father Kino, and the great concern he had in the affairs of California, I cannot think that he could be mistaken in any particular relating to the discovery: that father Kino, both in his large manuscript map, and likewise in the lesser impression, places the river of Santo Thomé, as rising between 26 and 27 deg. of N. latitude, and after crossing the whole peninsula, discharging itself into the South sea, in the 26 deg. and forming at its mouth a large harbour, which he calls Puerto de Anno Nuevo, being discovered in the year 1685. On both sides of the river are christian villages, as is evident from their names, Santiago, Santo Innocentes, San Juan, San Estevan, Reyes, Noche-Buena, Thebayda, and San Nicholas; yet in the accounts of that time, I do not meet with any intelligence of this discovery, to which I must add, that in the subsequent relations, no mention is made of any such river, settlements, or harbours, though

though even little brooks are taken notice of. Theſe, and ſeveral other reaſons, induce me not to pronounce deciſively: and many other difficulties of the ſame nature occurring about this outward coaſt, I beg leave for want of more recent and exact information, to refer the reader to the narrative of general Vizcaino's voyage inſerted at the end of this work.

SECT. IV.

Of the Beaſts, Birds, Inſects, Fiſhes, Shells, Trees, Fruits, Plants, Minerals, and Pearls, found in CALIFORNIA and its ſeas.

From this extenſive title, I hope the reader will not expect a complete hiſtory of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms in California. I well know that natural hiſtory has always been the favourite ſtudy of the wiſe in every civilized nation. I know alſo the preſent application of the learned to the experimental knowledge of nature, and the countenance it ſo deſervedly receives from the European princes; of which the galleries of curioſities, muſæums, gardens, laboratories, theatres, academies, and innumerable books are ſuch ſplendid monuments. I know the ſatisfaction which ariſes in the breaſt of a curious reader, at meeting with any

any novelty in this ſcience, as may reaſonably be expected in the accounts of countries remote and little known. I know that nothing ſhould be omitted relating to the natural hiſtory, as nothing is more pleaſing to perſons of taſte; poſſibly the Supreme Being, in order to the inveſtigation of the wonders of his power has inſpired men with this taſte, knowing the eagerneſs with which they deſire to ſearch into, and explain every phænomenon of nature; or it is the deſign of Omnipotence in inſpiring the minds of men with this deſire of contemplating the works of his hands, that we may thence acquire ſome faint idea of his greatneſs. I alſo ſee with admiration the labours of many foreigners, in illuſtrating the natural hiſtory of the American colonies of their reſpective nations; as the late admirable preſident of the royal ſociety in England, ſir Hans Sloane *, mrs. Maria Sybilla Mirian, who undertook a voyage from Holland to Surinam, to obtain a

* Catalogus plantarum, quæ in inſula Jamaica ſponte provenient vel vulgo coluntur, cum earundem ſynonimis & locis natalibus, adjectis aliis quibuſdam, que in inſulis. Maderæ, Barbadoes, Neves, S. Chriſtophori naſcuntur, ſeu prodromus Hiſtoriæ naturalis Jamaicæ, Londini, 1695, in fol. Voyage to the iſlands of Madeira, Barbadoes, Nevis, St. Chriſtopher's and Jamaica, with the natural hiſtory of theſe countries, &c. London 1707. two vols. in fol. with 274 copper-plates.

more

more accurate knowledge of the insects of that country. Laet and Briy, Dutchmen; Joceline and Walker, Englishmen; Lerio, a Frenchman; Pison, Markgrave, and Rochfort, Dutchmen; Ligon, an Englishman; Cornuto, an Italian in the French service; Bannister, an Englishman; Vernon and Crieg, Englishmen; Labat, a French Dominican; Thibeth, a French Franciscan; Catesby and Clayton, Englishmen; Barrera la Fitau and Charlevoix, Frenchmen; and many others to be found in the botanical bibliothecas of Seguier and Linnæus. I remember the diligent cultivation of this study in Spain, even in the time of the Moors, and much more since the establishment of the useful arts and sciences, when Pliny was read in schools: and there was an emulation among the learned, in illustrating that author with notes, as Nunnius, Stran, Gomez, de Castro, Ponce de Leon; whilst this artful knowledge was farther improved by the valuable writings of Laguna, Valles, Herrera, el Prior, Deza, Rios, Salinas, Val de Cebro, Funes, Velez, Vargus, Villafane, Barba, and many others, mentioned with honour in the Spanish libraries. Nor am I ignorant also with what precision the products of America have been illustrated by Monardes and Oviedo, but especially by the late father Joseph d'Acosta, a je-

ſuit, whom that elegant writer, father Feyjoo, juſtly ſtiles the Pliny of America: and here I muſt not omit the famous Franciſco Hernandez, ſent to America as well as Acoſta, by Philip II. who left in the Eſcurial library ſeventeen large volumes of deſcriptions, of which father Claudio Clemente ſays, * "Qui omnes "libri, & commentarii, ſi prout affecti ſunt, ita "forent perfecti, & abſoluti Philippus Secundus "& Franciſcus Hernandez, haudquaquam "Alexandro, et Ariſtoteli, in hac parte con-"cederent." But of theſe we have only extracts, taken by father Ximenes, and Nardo Recco, phyſician to Philip IV. I alſo with pleaſure ſee the general applauſe given to illuſtrations of the natural hiſtory of our American dominions in this century: as thoſe of father Fevillee †, and Plumier ‡, who were ſent to America at the expence of the king of France. The deſcription of the plants of the Philippine iſlands by father Camello; thoſe of the river

* Bibliothecæ Eſcuralis deſcriptio: Appendix ad tractatum Muſæi, ſive bibliothecæ inſtructio, &c. Lugduni, 1635. 4to.

† A minim, alſo mathematician and botaniſt, who publiſhed a valuable piece entitled, the Hiſtory of the medicinal plants, uſed in Peru and Chili, Paris 1714. 4to. Sequel of the ſame, Paris 1725.

‡ Deſcription de plantes d'Amerique, folio. Alſo, Nova Plantarum Americanarum genera, Paris 1703.

Oronoco

Oronoco by father Gumilla, in his excellent work, intitled Oronoco Illuſtrado; and laſtly thoſe which occur in the Relation del Viago a los Reynos del Peru, by don George Juan and don Antonio Ulloa, in company with the academicians of France, to aſcertain the true figure of the earth. To conclude, I know the impatience with which the literary world is expecting the obſervations of monſieur Juſſieu, who who was ſent by his moſt chriſtian majeſty with the above academicians; and who ſtayed behind in America ſeveral years, purely to illuſtrate the natural hiſtory of that extenſive country. All theſe particulars lie before me, and I have related them not ſo much to defend me from the complaints of the learned, as to incite perſons of capacity living in Spain, to ſilence the lod complaints of Linnæus, on the want of good accounts *. And likewiſe to thoſe that live in America, that they would remove the cauſe of ſuch reproaches, by exerting themſelves to gratify this noble curioſity.

* Linn. Biblioth. Botanica, part. viii. Floriſtæ, § viii. Hiſp. pag. 96. Hiſpanicæ Floræ nullæ nobis innotuerunt, adeoque plantæ iſtæ rariſſimæ in locis Hiſpaniæ fertiliſſimis minus delecta ſunt. Dolendum eſt, quod in locis, Europæ cultioribus tanta exiſtat noſtro tempore barbaries botanices! Pauciſſimas iſtas plantas, quæ nobis in Hiſpania & Portugalia conſtant, debemus curioſis claſs. iii. Tourneforrtio & paucis aliis.

In the mean time, I ſhall be ranked among thoſe who increaſe the above complaints in imitation of the learned Muratori, in his Notitia del Paraguay. For in expectation of more punctual and particular informations, my intent here is only to give a general idea of the ſubjects mentioned in the title.

In California are now found all kinds of domeſtick animals, commonly uſed in Spain and Mexico; for tho' the miſſionaries met with none ſuch, they have ſince been tranſported from New Spain, for horſes, mules, aſſes, oxen, ſheep, hogs, and goats, and even dogs and cats have been found to thrive well in this country. In California are two ſpecies of wild creatures for hunting, which are not known in Old or New Spain. The firſt is that which the Californians in the Monqui tongue call Taye. It is about the bigneſs of a calf, a year and a half old, and greatly reſembles it in figure, except in its head, which is like that of a deer, and the horns very thick, reſembling thoſe of a ram: its hoof large, round, and cloven, like that of an ox: its ſkin is ſpotted like the deer, but the hair thinner, and it has a ſhort tail: the fleſh is very palatable, and to moſt taſtes exquiſite. The ſecond ſpecies differs very little from a ſheep, but a great deal larger, and more bulky: theſe are of two colours, white and black, both

well

The Cayote or Fox. Vol. I. page 36.

The Taye or Californian Deer.

well covered with excellent wool. The flesh of these is not less agreeable, and they wander in droves about the forests and mountains. Here is also plenty of deer, hares, rabbits, and wild goats, though the Indians kill great numbers in their huntings; but the coyotes are scarce. This is a Mexican word, and in New Spain the name of a peculiar species of wild dog, in some particulars resembling the foxes of Spain, especially in their arts and stratagems; though their figure is very different. Some leopards also have been seen here, and are the same creatures with those called lions in the kingdom of Mexico. A few years since some Indians killed a wolf; and all their countrymen affirmed, that it was the first they had ever seen of that kind: which proves that there are few of them, the Indians being continually hunting in the forests. Goats, cats, and wild hogs are frequently found among the mountains. Father Torquemada observes, that about Monte Rey are very large bears, an animal something like a buffalo, and a creature very different from the tyger, as will appear from the following description he has given of it: it is about the bigness of a steer, but shaped like a stag; its hair resembles that of a pelican, and is a quarter of a yard in length; its neck long, and on its head are horns, like

thoſe of a ſtag; the tail is a yard in length, and half a yard in breadth; and the feet cloven like thoſe of an ox. The ſame father relates, that in the bay of San Bernabe, near Cape San Lucas, tygers are found, and that the Indians, among other things, brought the ſkins of them to the Spaniards.

But the greateſt curioſity in this particular, which has been found in California, is a kind of animal exactly reſembling a beaver, if not actually a ſpecies of that creature. Father Sigiſmundo Taraval ſaw ſeveral during his journey, in the year 1733, to the iſland de los Dolores, in a part called San Andres, four days and a half journey from the miſſion of San Ignatio. They found ſuch numbers of them together, that the ſeamen killed above twenty of them, following them only with ſticks. Some of the ſkins of theſe creatures the father ſent to Mexico. He ſuppoſes theſe animals to be amphibious, like the beaver; but ſays nothing of that ſkill and regularity ſo much admired in the ſtructures which the Canada-beavers build along the rivers for their habitations.

With regard to ſnakes and terreſtrial inſects, beſides the common ſpecies, here are alſo thoſe which uſually abound in hot countries, as vipers of different kinds, efts, ſcorpions, ſpiders, ſcolopendras, crickets, piſmires, and lizards; and

and one of the accounts adds, tarantulas, but without any mention that its bite is attended with the remarkable frenzy ſucceeding that of the tarantulas of Calabria. Laſtly, though the heat in California is generally exceſſive, yet even the moiſt parts do not abound with thoſe miſchievous inſects, the bugs, niguas *, and others, both common and peculiar to America.

Of birds there is an infinite variety. Among thoſe which ſerve for the table, are turtles, herons, quails, pheaſants, geeſe, ducks, and pigeons. The birds of prey are vultures, hawks, falcons, oſſiphrages, horn-owls, ravens, and crows, which in New Spain are called in the Mexican dialect, zopilotes; and another kind called auras, of excellent uſe in keeping the cities clean, leaving no dead carcaſe in the ſtreets, whither they repair early every morning. With regard to night birds, there are owls, and many others of a ſmaller kind, not ſeen in any other parts, nor mentioned by any naturaliſts; nor have the narratives of the jeſuits ſupplied us with a deſcription, or even

* Very ſmall inſects, which lie hid in the duſt, leap like fleas, and work themſelves into the feet or legs of thoſe that go barefoot; where they breed ſo wonderfully, that they are ſcarce to be got out again, and ſometimes there is no deſtroying them without cauterizing or cutting off the part.

the name of them. California has a great variety of ſinging birds, eſpecially of thoſe kinds found either in Old or New Spain, as larks, nightingales, and the like, moſt of which are adorned with beautiful plumages. Father Torquemada ſays, "that about the harbour of Monte-Rey are buſtards, peacocks, geeſe, thruſhes, ſwallows, ſparrows, gold-finches, linets, quails, partridges, blackbirds, water-wagtails, cranes, vultures, and other birds, reſembling turkey-cocks: the latter were the largeſt we ever ſaw, the diſtance from one wing to the other being ſeventeen palms. He adds, that there are cormorants, gulls, and mews." The ſame author ſays, that in the iſland of Aſſumpcion they ſaw great numbers of a particular ſpecies of gulls, which, as they are found in ſeveral parts of California, it may not be improper to inſert here the deſcription of them, by friar Antonio della Aſſumpcion. "The gulls live on pilchards and other ſmall fiſhes; but they are equal to a very large gooſe in ſize, their bill a foot in length, and their long legs reſemble thoſe of the ſtork; their beak and feet are like thoſe of a gooſe. They have a vaſt craw, which in ſome hangs down like the leather bottles uſed in Peru for carrying water; and in it they put their captures to carry them to their young ones. The friend-

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ly diſpoſition of theſe birds is ſomething ſurpriſing; for they aſſiſt one another, as if they had an unadulterated uſe of reaſon. If any one is ſick, weak, maimed, or otherwiſe diſabled from going in queſt of food, he is plentifully aſſiſted by others, who lay it before him: of this I myſelf was an-eye witneſs in the iſland of San Roque, where I accidentally found a gull tied with a ſtring, and one of his wings broke; around this maimed bird lay heaps of excellent pilchards, brought thither by its companions: and this I found was a ſtratagem practiſed by the Indians, to procure themſelves a diſh of fiſh; for they lie concealed, while the gulls bring theſe charitable ſupplies; and when they think that little more is to be expected, they ſeize upon the contributions." Such are the myſterious ways of providence for the ſupport of his creatures!

As the air and qualities of the earth are not uniform in all parts of California; ſo neither are they in the production of trees and plants. The point of the peninſula towards Cape San Lucas is more level, fertile, and temperate than any other, and thence more woody. In the other parts, even to the furtheſt miſſions on the eaſt coaſt, no timber has hitherto been diſcovered large enough for rafters; and if any churches or other buildings are found

found roofed with wood, it has been brought by ſea from Cinaloa. In the territory of Guadalupe alone are found large quantities of timber, and of this the ſloop called el Triumpho della Cruz was built, in order to make a futher diſcovery of the gulf, as we ſhall mention in the ſequel. Father Torquemada, and father Aſcencion, indeed ſay, that in the bay of Magdalena on the outward coaſt, there is a ſpot of ground near the ſea covered with large trees, which the Indians uſe for building their fiſhing barks. The mountains all over this vaſt tract, are totally bare of verdure, as the Sierra Pintada; or at moſt only covered with ſmall ſhrubs, briars, and low trees; but many of them have excellent fruit, ſome common to Europe, and others peculiar to America. Theſe however, are moſt frequent along the coaſts, where they enjoy the benefit of water, eſpecially on the banks of rivers and lakes; where there are alſo ruſhes, oſiers, and ſedges. Some willows and palm-trees are alſo found on the banks of rivers, eſpecially towards Cape San Lucas.

But among the plants and ſhrubs which moſt abound in California, the principal is the pitahaya, a kind of beech, the fruit of which forms the great harveſt of the poor inhabitants here. This tree is not known in Europe,

and differs from all other trees in the world; its branches are fluted and riſe vertically from the ſtem, ſo as to form a very beautiful top; they are without leaves, the fruit growing to the boughs. The fruit is like a horſe cheſtnut, and full of prickles: but the pulp reſembles that of a fig, only more ſoft and luſcious. In ſome it is white, in ſome red, and in others yellow; but always of an exquiſite taſte: ſome again are wholly ſweet; others of a grateful acid. And as the pitahaya is very juicy, it is chiefly found in a dry ſoil: but its moſt valuable quality is its being a ſpecifick againſt the diſtemper de Loanda. California has alſo great plenty of red junas, called in New Spain, junas japonas, and a particular ſpecies of fig. Father Aſcencion ſays, "That the bay of San Barnabe abounds with various trees, as fig trees, lentiſks, pitahayas, an infinite number of plum trees, which, inſtead of reſin or gum, yield a very fine and fragrant incenſe in great quantity. What taſte theſe plums have, I cannot ſay from my own experience: but they who have been in California, greatly commend them." In fact, it is not only in this bay, but in many other parts near the weſtern coaſt, that theſe plum trees abound, the fruit of which is carefully gathered by the Indians. The incenſe or reſin tranſudes from theſe and

other

other trees ſo copiouſly, that it is uſed mixed with tallow for paying bottoms of ſhips. The mountains and foreſts yield the mezcal, and according to Torquemada the maquey; the roots of which boiled is a principal ingredient in the mexcalli, a kind of food which the natives preſented the Spaniards at the bay of San Franciſco. Here are alſo wild vines, together with a great variety of ſmall plants and herbs. One ſpecies of them called pita, ſupplies the Indians with thread for making their nets and other uſes; and from different herbs they make with admirable ſkill and elegance, a kind of plates and baſkets. The inhabitants on the banks of the river Colorado make of the ſame herbs little tubs or bins, called coritas, which generally hold about two buſhels of maize: and with theſe they tranſport their goods from one ſhore to the other without being in the leaſt damaged by the water, they themſelves ſwimming behind and ſhoving theſe vehicles along before them. Other herbs alſo ſerve them for food; eſpecially three kinds, all of them frequent in New Spain: the firſt is yuca, a large thick root, which they cut into ſlices and expreſs the juice; afterwards it is made into broad thin cakes, and eaten inſtead of bread. The ſecond is the Camotes, which are very ſweet and palatable.

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The third is the gicamas, which in taſte exceed thoſe of Mexico: there is ſcarce an herb or root which they do not apply to ſome uſe. Father Franciſco Maria Picolo, one of the firſt miſſionaries that went among them, relates, that they have above fourteen different kinds of ſeeds which they uſe, though he mentions only theſe three; the red frixoles, or kidney beans; the canamones, or hemp ſeed, and alpiſte, a kind of canary ſeed. Beſides theſe trees and roots, here are others which have been tranſplanted by the miſſionaries from the continent, and moſt of them with very good ſucceſs, eſpecially in thoſe parts where they have the conveniency of water; ſo that the banks of the rivers, canals, and watering places are decorated with olives, fig trees, and vines; and in ſome parts, the latter have throve ſo well, as to afford a wine, equal to the beſt in Europe. Father Juan de Ugarte, whom we ſhall have occaſion frequently to mention hereafter, brought hither almoſt every kind of fruit trees growing in New Spain; and having planted them in a ſoil properly prepared on the coaſt of San Miguel, and kept daily watered, they all flouriſhed; the ſame ſucceſs attended the experiments made with wheat, maize, French beans, melons of both kinds, garvanzo, or a kind of peaſe, and all ſorts of eſcu-

eſculents, where-ever they could be ſown and cultivated. It is alſo proper to obſerve, that in the countries not hitherto reduced, lying between the river Colorado and the coaſts of Monte Rey to Cape Mendozino, both the fathers Kino and Juan de Torquemada relate, that there is a great number of large trees, holms, pines, and black and white poplars.

We have not hitherto had any particular account of its minerals; but ſome intelligent perſons are of opinion, that the Sierra Pintada and other parts abound with metals, as they exhibit all the marks and appearances of gold and ſilver mines. Capt. Woods Rogers ſays, that ſome of his men ſaw on the coaſt of California ſeveral heavy, glittering, ſhining ſtones, which they imagined to contain ſome valuable metal; but it was then too late to ſearch for them, or even to carry them on board for a further examination. It is indeed natural to ſuppoſe, that there are many very rich mines in California, as the oppoſite coaſt in the provinces of Sonora and Pimeria are known to abound with them; for in the year 1730 a vein was diſcovered on an eminence, not far from the garriſon of Pimeria, the ore of which, with a little labour, yielded ſo large a quantity of ſilver as ſurpriſed the inhabitants of New Spain; and it remained ſome time

time a queſtion, whether it was a mine, or treaſures hid by the Indians. Some have alſo been diſcovered which contain veins of other metals: rock ſalt is alſo found here, of a whiteneſs equal to cryſtal, and ſamples of it have been carried to Mexico.

But if the ſoil of California be in general barren, the ſcarcity of proviſions is ſupplied by the adjacent ſea; for both in the Pacifick ocean and the gulf of California, the multitude and variety of fiſhes are incredible. Father Antonio de la Aſcencion, ſpeaking of the bay of San Lucas, ſays, "With the nets which every ſhip carried, they caught a great quantity of fiſh of different kinds, and all wholeſome and palatable: particularly holybuſs, ſalmon, turbots, ſkates, pilchards, large oyſters, thornbacks, mackarel, barbels, bonetos, ſoals, lobſters, and pearl oyſters." And, ſpeaking of the bay of San Franciſco on the weſtern coaſt, he adds: "Here are ſuch multitudes of fiſh, that with a net, which the commodore had on board, more was caught every day, than the ſhip's company could make uſe of: and of theſe a great variety, as crabs, oyſters, breams, mackarel, cod, barbels, thornbacks, &c." And in other parts he makes mention of the infinite number of ſardines, which are left on the ſand at the ebb, and ſo exquiſite, that

that thoſe of Laredo in Spain, then famous for this fiſh, do not exceed them. Nor are fiſh leſs plentiful along the gulf, where to the above-mentioned ſpecies father Piccolo adds, tunnies, anchovies, and others. Even in the little rivulets of this peninſula are found barbels and crayfiſh: but the moſt diſtinguiſhed fiſh of both ſeas are the whales; which induced the ancient coſmographers to call California, Punta de Balenas, or Cape Whale: and theſe fiſh being found in multitudes along both coaſts, give name to a channel in the gulf, and a bay in the South ſea.

From the fiſh, I ſhall next proceed to the amphibious and teſtaceous kind. Of the former here are very few except the beavers above-mentioned, if they are ſuch, and the ſea wolves, or, as ſome call them, ſea lions: theſe frequent ſome of the ſhores, and the deſert iſlands of both ſeas.

The moſt remarkable among the teſtaceous kind, is the tortoiſe; ſeveral kinds of wilks and other turbines are thrown up by the ſea, in ſuch numbers, that, in ſome parts, the ſhore is quite covered with them. On the coaſt of the South ſea are ſome ſmall ſhell fiſh or conches peculiar to it, and perhaps the moſt beautiful in the world: the luſtre exceeding that of the fineſt mother of pearl, and appearing

ing through a tranſparent varniſh of a moſt vivid blue, like the lapis lazuli. It is thought that were theſe imported to Europe, the aqua marina would be no longer valued: theſe are univalves, and conſequently different from the ſhell fiſh in which the pearls are found, the latter being bivalves, like our oyſters. They are called madres perlas, and found in California, or rather as father Piccolo ſays, along the whole coaſt, and eſpecially the adjacent iſlands, where there are ſo many banks of them, that they may be counted by thouſands. And this abundance of pearls has rendered California ſo famous, that great numbers of perſons during the two laſt centuries, ſtimulated by avidity after this treaſure, have viſited California, ſearched every part of the gulf, and are ſtill continually reſorting hither with no other view, than that of enriching themſelves by theſe pearls. The oyſters in which they are found lie in great numbers on banks in the gulf, and commonly called hoſtias. "The ſea of California, ſays father Torquimada, affords very rich pearl fiſheries, where in three or four fathom water the hoſtias, or beds of oyſters may be ſeen as plain as if they were on the ſurface of the water. He adds, that it was a practice among the Indians to throw the oyſters into the fire, by which

means the pearls were deſtroyed; for they uſed only the fleſh of the fiſh: but the avidity of others has communicated its flame, even to this ſimple people; who are now eager to get, and careful to keep, what they have ſeen ſo highly valued by foreigners. This fiſhery is carried on by divers; but as the water in the gulf is not very deep, it is attended with leſs labour and danger, than thoſe on the coaſt of Malabar and other parts of the Eaſt Indies, if we may judge from the narratives given us of them. Great numbers reſort to this fiſhery from the continent of New Spain, New Galicia, Culiacan, Cinaloa, and Sonora: and the many violences committed by the adventurers, to ſatiate if poſſible their covetous temper, have occaſioned reciprocal complaints: nor will they ever ceaſe while the deſire of riches, that bane of ſociety, predominates in the human breaſt.

Father Piccolo obſerves, that in the months of April, May, and June, there falls with the dew a kind of manna, which becomes inſpiſſated on the leaves of the trees. He adds, that he taſted it, and though not ſo white as ſugar, it had all the ſweetneſs of it. The good father talks according to the common opinion, as if the manna dropped from the ſky. But botaniſts are agreed, that it is a juice exſudating from the plants themſelves in the

the ſame manner as gums, incenſe, balſams, reſins, &c. It is no wonder that the trees of California ſhould exſudate manna, ſince many parts of Spain produce it in an aſtoniſhing plenty; and for medical uſes, equal to that of Calabria, or Sicily. This was an advantage formerly little known in Spain, but his majeſty on the repreſentation of the royal college of phyſicians at Madrid in 1752, gave orders, that two of its members ſhould make a further examination of the produce of manna: theſe were don Joſeph Minuart, and don Chriſtopher Velez*. The former was ſent among the mountains of Avila, and the latter among the Pedroches, or ſeven towns of Cordova, ſituated among the mountains of Andaluſia: and that its virtues ſhould experimentally be proved, by exhibiting it to the patient in the hoſpitals. And it has been found that Spain alone produces manna, ſufficient to ſupply the whole world: for not only an incredible quantity of it is gathered in the parts above-mentioned, where it is formed

* This valuable perſon, to the great loſs of botanical improvements in Spain, died at Madrid in 1753. His moral virtues, extenſive knowledge, and conſummate experience in all parts of natural hiſtory, which made his correſpondence valued by the learned of ſeveral nations, ſeemed, according to human judgment, to render him worthy of a longer life.

about the dog-days, but likewiſe in the mountains of Aſturias and Galicia, Cuenca, Aragon, Catalonia, and the other provinces, where they call it mangla; but hitherto it was only uſed by the bees in forming their combs.

SECT. V.

Of the different Nations and Languages of CALIFORNIA.

The word nation generally ſpeaking, has a different import in America, from what it has in Europe; though even in the latter it is not always uſed in the ſame ſenſe. In Europe it is applied to thoſe who inhabit a certain extent of country, or live under one government, whether their language be the ſame or not. In America, there being among the unconquered Indians neither diſtinction, limits of province, nor demarkation of diviſions, as was found in the two empires of Mexico and Peru, all uſing the ſame language, they account one nation; whether they live near one another, or are diſperſed in different rancherias or places of abode: or, if there be any difference in the idiom, but very ſmall, ſome languages being only dialects of another, ſo that they underſtand one another. But when the lan-

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guage is ſo different that they cannot underſtand each other, then they are ſaid to be of different nations. Sometimes indeed the nations do not derive their name from the language they ſpeak, but from the part of the country they inhabit, or ſome other circumſtance of the ſame kind.

With regard to the nations inhabiting California, there have been variety of opinions, as there was alſo concerning their languages. Some miſſionaries have told us, that there are ſix different languages ſpoken in this peninſula: others ſay there are only five. But father Taraval, and ſome others, ſay there are no more than three. This difference ariſes from languages having been judged different by ſome, whilſt others examining more particularly into them, have found that they were only dialects of the ſame language; the difference being too little to make any diſtinction between them.

Among the various opinions this has occaſioned among the narratives, the preference, I think, is due to father Taraval, as none was better acquainted with all thoſe countries; and he was an eye-witneſs of every thing he aſſerts. The languages, ſays this judicious miſſionary, are three, that of Cochimi, Pericu, and Loretto. From the latter two dialects have been formed, namely, Guaycura and Uchiti.

The variation indeed is ſuch, that a perſon unacquainted with the three languages, would be apt to conclude, that there were not only four, but five. The Indians underſtand one another in words, ſignifying the ſame thing, in the the three languages of Loretto, Guaycura, and Uchiti; but theſe are very few. Thoſe who are of opinion that theſe three variations have been formed from two languages, conclude that there muſt have been four. The principal nations yet diſcovered on the peninſula, ſpeak the languages above-mentioned, and divide it into three parts, almoſt equal to each other. The firſt towards the ſouth, from Cape San Lucas, to a little beyond the Puerto de la Pas, is inhabited by the Pericu nations; the ſecond from La Pas, to beyond the garriſon of Loretto, by that of the Monquis; and the third from Loretto northward, as far as is diſcovered, by the Cochimi nation. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that in the territories of one nation or language, there are uſually rancherias or ſettlements of other languages and nations; and theſe general nations are ſubdivided into tribes or families. One language alſo has often different names, and the rancherias, and leſſer nations, as we have already obſerved, uſually take their name, not from the language, but other circumſtances.

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In order to proceed with all poſſible perſpecuity, and amidſt ſuch intricacy to avoid error and confuſion, it muſt be remarked, that in the miſſion of Loretto Concho, which is the ſeat of the royal garriſon, and the capital of all the miſſions, they have particular words by which they call the nations of the peninſula, relatively to the part in which they live. The Indians to the ſouth of this territory, they call Edu, Eduu, or Edues; the general name for themſelves is Monquí, or Monquis: and the more northern inhabitants they call Laymones. Theſe three names having their origin in the capital, are pretty well known all over California. But as different perſons ſometimes uſe one name, and ſometimes another, a great deal of confuſion may eaſily reſult; and therefore we muſt obſerve, that the Edues are the ſame with the ſouthern Pericues, though the name of Edues not only includes theſe, but likewiſe ſome branches of the general name of Loretto, or the Monquis. The Laymones are the ſame as the northern Cochimies, though the name of Laymones alſo extends to ſome rancherias of the ſame inland nation of Monqui or Loretto.

The nation of the Pericués or Edues, which I have ſaid inhabit the moſt ſouthern part of California, towards Cape St. Lucas, is ſub-

divided into ſeveral tribes, of which the moſt numerous is that of the Coras, originally the name of one rancheria only; but afterwards given to ſome villages, and to the river which diſcharges itſelf into St. Barnaby-bay. The nation of Loretto has no proper name in the Indian tongue, including its whole extenſion: and therefore to denote it in general, we uſe the name of the principal of its branches, or diſtricts, the Monquis. But, beſides theſe, there are others who have their names from the difference of their dialects, the parts where they live, and other incidents. Of theſe, the moſt remarkable are the Uchiti inhabiting the neighbourhood of the bay and town of La Pas: and the Guaycuras, which reach from La Pas along the coaſt of the gulf, to the borders of Loretto. The Monquis themſelves are divided into Liyues, Diduis, and other leſſer branches. They who think the Guaycura and Uchiti are languages different from that of the Monquis, are alſo of opinion that they are different nations, and not branches of the ſame. However, we ſhall follow father Taraval, who conſiders them as one general nation and language. The moſt numerous of all the nations is, that of the Cochimies or Laymones: and, indeed, hitherto the utmoſt limits of their language are not known.

known. This nation is likewiſe divided into ſeveral branches, who have their ſmall variations in the idiom, termination, and pronunciation: and the like is obſervable in the moſt northern miſſion, conſecrated to St. Ignatius; in the whole remaining coaſt to the river Colorado; and, on the oppoſite weſtern coaſt, in the part called San Xavier, and the iſland de los Dolores.

Theſe are all the nations which hitherto have been reduced; but the nation and language of the Cochimies, ſeem to extend beyond the laſt miſſion of San Ignacio. But beſides thoſe already converted, others have been diſcovered on the continent of Pimeria, who muſt not here be omitted, as belonging to California. Father Kino relates, that in his journey from the Pimeria, to the Colorado, and paſſing that river, at the place where it receives the waters of the Gila, he found along its banks, on the Californian ſide, the nations of the Bagiopas, the Heabonomas, the Iguanas, and Cutguanes or Cueganas. In his map he places the Bagiopas, about the mouth of the Colorado, and the Heabonomas a little above them, on the eaſt ſide of that river, oppoſite to the Yumas and Quiquimas, which inhabit the weſt. The ſame father, a little above the conflux of the Gila and Colorado, to the weſt of the former,

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and eaſt of the latter, found the nation of the Alchedomas, dwelling along the weſt ſide of the Colorado, in numerous, large, and populous rancherias; they alſo inhabit the banks of the river Gila, contiguous to them. He adds, that a Cocomaricopan aſſured him, that on the other ſide of the river Colorado, towards California, lived another nation, called Cuculatos, but ſo unknown, that he could get no ſatisfactory account of it. The other nations inhabiting the countries between the river Colorado, Monte Rey, and cape Mendozino, and the remaining country, along theſe coaſts, are almoſt utterly unknown, ſo that nothing can be affirmed of them with certainty, which the candour, due to the publick, requires.

Of all the nations hitherto diſcovered, the Californians are at leaſt equal to any in the make of their bodies. Their faces alſo are far from bēing diſagreeable, though their daubing them with ointments, painting them, and boring holes through their noſtrils and ears are very great diſadvantages. Their complexion indeed is more tanned and ſwarthy than that of the other Indians of New Spain. But they are in general robuſt, vigorous, and of a healthy countenance. There is no appearance, that the Californians have hitherto had any knowledge of the wonderful contrivance

of

of letters, by which we converſe with the ancients, and preſerve the tranſactions of former ages. Nor had any of the American nations the leaſt idea of ſo noble an invention. It muſt however be owned, that the Peruvians had ſomething very nearly equivalent to it in their quipos, or ſtrings of different colours, which with a ſagacity really ſurpriſing, they preſerved their traditions and antiquities, and applied them to ſeveral other uſes neceſſary in ſociety. A more particular account of theſe quipos is given by father Acoſta, Garcilaſo, and Martin Murua, whoſe manuſcript ſo highly commended by don Nicholas Antonio, is yet preſerved in the library of the jeſuits college at Alcala de Heneras in Old Spain; and ſeveral copies of it are in other places.

The Mexicans made uſe of ſymbols and hieroglyphicks, by which they painted events, and ſufficiently indicated an admirable genius; and by this means they preſerved the knowledge of their religion, laws, and hiſtory, and even the rights of particular families. Their chronology, cycles, and computations cannot be conſidered without aſtoniſhment. Some account of their hieroglyphicks and painted memorials may be ſeen in Gomara, Dias del Caſtillo, Acoſta, Herrera, Torquimada, Solis, Betancourt, and almoſt all others who have treated of

the affairs of Mexico, particularly father Kircher, Gemelli Careri, mr. Purchas, and other foreign authors.

Had the Californians been acquainted with the uſe of letters, we ſhould eaſily have diſcovered whether the founders of the American nations paſſed from Aſia to the continent or not: and whether this happened before, or ſince, the invention of characters in Aſia and Europe. We ſhould alſo have been able to have formed ſome reaſonable conjecture with regard to the particular nation of the firſt peoplers of this extenſive continent.

Of all the parts of America hitherto diſcovered, the Californians lie neareſt to Aſia. We are acquainted with the mode of writing in all the eaſtern nations. We can diſtinguiſh between the characters of the Japoneſe, the Chineſe, the Chineſe Tartars, the Mogul Tartars, and other nations extending as far as the bay of Kamſchathka; and learned diſſertations on them, by mr. Bayer, are to be found in the acts of the Imperial academy of ſciences at Peterſburg. What diſcovery would it be to meet with any of theſe characters, or others like them among the American Indians neareſt to Aſia? But as to the Californians, if ever they were poſſeſſed of any invention to perpetuate their memoirs, they have entire-

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ly loſt it: and all that is now found among them, amounts to no more than ſome obſcure oral traditions, probably more and more adulterated by a long ſucceſſion of time. They have not ſo much as retained any knowledge of the particular country from which they emigrated; ſo that both the Edues or Pericues, and the Cochimies or Laymones could give no farther account, than that they heard their anceſtors came from the north; and this might be concluded without their information, California being on all ſides environed with the ſea, except on the north, where it joins to the continent. Beſides, there is little reaſon to think, that the firſt ſettlers came hither by ſea; nor can they give any account of the time when they came hither; for their ſtupidity and ignorance are ſo great, that they do not appear to have among them any means of diſtinguiſhing the years, or the intervals of times, as the Mexicans did, by means of their cycles of fifty years. They indeed ſeem ſomething better acquainted with the occaſion, on which their anceſtors removed from their native ſettlements in the north, down into California: which, according to their tradition, was owing to a quarrel at a banquet, where the chief men of ſeveral nations were met. This was followed by a bloody battle; and the ſide

which

which was defeated, flew towards the ſouth, and were eagerly purſued by the victors, till they ſheltered themſelves among the foreſts and mountains of this peninſula.

Others ſay the quarrel was only between two great men, who divided the nation into two oppoſite factions; and after a great ſlaughter, one obliged the other to ſeek for ſafety among the mountains and iſlands of the ſea: this is all the information the miſſionaries have been able to procure, with regard to the origin and emigration of the Californians. And here it may be obſerved, how free they are from the vanity of many poliſhed nations, who affect to trace their origin from remote countries, and to decorate their anceſtors with many plauſible and pompous ſtories. It ſeems indeed ſomething ſtrange, that they ſhould acknowledge themſelves the deſcendants of perſons obliged by a ſuperior force to quit their country, when they might eaſily have pretended to be the offspring of conquerors; though there are not wanting two illuſtrious examples among the ancients of the like candour; the two noble ſtates of Rome and Carthage, boaſted of deriving their origin from perſons who had been driven from their country; the former from the conquered Trojans, and the latter from Tyrian fugitives. But be this as it may,

may, the moſt probable conjecture is, that theſe nations, and all others in America, have paſſed over from Aſia ſince the diſperſion of nations and the confuſion of tongues. Tho' it may at the ſame time be affirmed, that hitherto there has not been found in any of the American nations on either ſide of the equinox, one ſingle, authentick, and clear monument, of their being originally from Aſia, or of their ſuppoſed tranſition into America. Nor is there in the furtheſt parts of Aſia, to which the Ruſſians have hitherto penetrated, the leaſt veſtige, or tradition, that the inhabitants had ever any communication with, or knowledge of, the Americans.

SECT. VI.

Of the temper and manners of the CALIFORNIANS; and of their government in peace and war.

To thoſe who have ſeen any of the American nations, and obſerved their genius and diſpoſition, it would be ſufficient to ſay in general, that the ancient inhabitants of California did not in the leaſt differ from them; except thoſe of the two empires of Mexico and Peru, in which, as there was a greater union and intercourſe, ſo the fruits of it were ſeen in the cultivation

tivation of their reaſon, in their laws, policy, and military conduct, and in the other branches of government, as well as in the reciprocal and friendly dependencies on one another. But all the other American nations differ very little, either in capacity, diſpoſition, or cuſtoms. The characteriſticks of the Californians, as well as of all the other Indians, are ſtupidity and inſenſibility; want of knowledge and reflection; inconſtancy, impetuoſity, and blindneſs of appetite; an exceſſive ſloth and abhorrence of all labour and fatigue; an inceſſant love of pleaſure and amuſement of every kind, however trifling or brutal; puſillanimity and relaxity: and in fine, a moſt wretched want of every thing which conſtitutes the real man, and renders him rational, inventive, tractable, and uſeful to himſelf and ſociety. It is not eaſy for Europeans, who never were out of their own country, to conceive an adequate idea of theſe people. For even in the leaſt frequented corners of the globe, there is not a nation ſo ſtupid, of ſuch contracted ideas, and ſo weak both in body and mind, as the unhappy Californians. Their underſtanding comprehends little more than what they ſee: abſtract ideas, and much leſs a chain of reaſon, being far beyond their power; ſo that they ſcarce ever improve their firſt ideas; and theſe are in general

neral falſe, or at leaſt inadequate. It is in vain to repreſent to them any future advantages, which will reſult to them, by doing or abſtaining from this or that particular immediately preſent; the relation of means and ends being beyond the ſtretch of their faculties. Nor have they the leaſt notion of purſuing ſuch intentions as will procure themſelves ſome future good, or guard them againſt evils. Their inſenſibility, with regard to corporeal objects which lie before them, being ſo great, that it may eaſily be conceived, what ſentiments they can have with regard to rewards and puniſhments in a future life. They have only a few faint glimmerings of the moral virtues and vices; ſo that ſome things appear good and others evil, without any reflection: and though they enjoyed the light of natural reaſon, and that divine grace which is given to all without diſtinction, yet the one was ſo weak, and the other ſo little attended to, that, without any regard to decency, pleaſure and profit were the motives and end of all their actions.

Their will is proportionate to their faculties; and all their paſſions move in a very narrow ſphere; ambition they have none, and are more deſirous of being accounted ſtrong than valiant: the objects of ambition with us,

honour, fame, or reputation, titles, poſts, and diſtinctions of ſuperiority, are unknown among them; ſo that this powerful ſpring of action, the cauſe of ſo much ſeeming good and real evil in the world, has no power here. The moſt that is obſerved in them, is ſome ſenſibility of emulation; to ſee their companions praiſed or rewarded rouſes them, and is indeed the only thing which ſtimulates, and prevails on them to ſhake off their innate ſloth. They are equally free from avarice, that deſtructive paſſion which makes ſuch havock in polite nations. The utmoſt extent of their deſires is to get the preſent day's food without much fatigue, taking little care for that of the enſuing day. As for furniture, it conſiſts wholly in their inſtruments, mean as they are, for fiſhing, hunting, and war. Laſtly, what purſuit of wealth or eagerneſs in acquiring eſtates can be expected among them, who have neither houſe, field, nor diviſions of lands; and who know no other rights, than that of being the firſt in gathering for their uſe the ſpontaneous productions of the earth.

This diſpoſition of mind, as it gives them up to an amazing languor and laſſitude, their lives fleeting away in a perpetual inactivity, and deteſtation of labour; ſo it likewiſe in-

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duces them to be attracted by the first object, which their own fancy, or the persuasion of another, place before them: and at the same time renders them as prone to alter their resolutions with the same facility. They look with indifference on any kindness done them; nor is even the bare remembrance of it to be expected from them. Their hatred and revenge are excited by the slightest causes: but they are as easily appeased, and even without any satisfaction, especially if they meet with opposition. For though courage seems the only thing they value, it may with truth be said, that they have not the least notion of true bravery. Their rancour and fury last no longer than while they meet with no resistance. The least thing daunts them; and when once they begin to yield, their fear will induce them to stoop to the basest indignities. As, on the contrary, by obtaining any advantage, or if the enemy becomes disheartened, they swell with a most extravagant pride. In a word, the unhappy mortals may be compared to children, in whom the developement of reason is not completed. They may indeed be called a nation, who never arrive at manhood. Their predominant passion is suitable to such an unhappy condition, in which they make so little use of reason, I mean a violent fondness for

all kind of diverſion, pleaſure, feſtivals, games, dancings, and revels, in which they brutiſhly waſte their miſerable days. However, in the Californians are ſeen few of thoſe bad diſpoſitions, for which the other Americans are infamous. No inebriating liquors are uſed among them; and it is only on their feſtivals that they intoxicate themſelves, and then with the ſmoak of wild tobacco. What little every one has is ſafe from theft; quarrels are rarely known among them; and the ſeveral members of a rancheria live in great harmony among themſelves, and peaceably with others. All their malice and rage they reſerve for their enemies. And ſo far are they from obſtinacy, harſhneſs, or cruelty, that nothing could exceed their docility and gentleneſs: conſequently they are eaſily perſuaded to good or evil.

The government of the Californians cannot be ſuppoſed to exceed the ſhort limits of their capacity; there being among them, as we have already obſerved, neither diviſion of lands or poſſeſſions, and conſequently no ſucceſſion to immoveables, nor any other claim of patrimonial rights; nor, on the other hand, any complaints of illegal intruſions. Every nation or language conſiſts of ſeveral rancherias, more or leſs in number according to the fertility of the ſoil; and each rancheria of one or more families

families united by conſanguinity. But when the miſſionaries came among them, neither the rancherias nor the nations had a chief or ſuperior, to whom they paid obedience, or whoſe authority they acknowledged by any kind of tribute or external ceremonies. Every family governed itſelf according to their own fancy; and the natural obedience from ſons to fathers was very little, after the former were able to provide for themſelves. The ſorcerers and jugglers, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, were poſſeſſed of ſome kind of ſuperiority; but this laſted no longer than the time of their feſtivals, or during the time of ſickneſs, or other incidents, which excited their fear or ſuperſtition. However, in the rancherias, and even in the nations the miſſionaries found one, two, or more, who gave orders for gathering the products of the earth; directed the fiſheries and the military expeditions, in caſe of a quarrel with any other rancheria or nation. This dignity was not obtained by blood and deſcent, nor by age, ſuffrages, or a formal election; the neceſſity of applying for inſtruction to one or more few, in ſome common exigency, rendered it natural, that, with a tacit conſent, he who was brave, expert, artful, or eloquent, ſhould be promoted to the command; but his authority was limited to terms impoſed by the fancy of thoſe, who,

without well knowing how, quietly ſubmitted to him. This leader, or caſique, conducted them to the foreſts and ſea coaſts in queſt of food; ſent and received the meſſages to and from the adjacent ſtates; informed them of dangers; ſpirited them up to the revenge of injuries, whether real or feigned, done by other rancherias or nations; and headed them in their wars, ravages, and depredations. In all other particulars every one was entire maſter of his liberty.

The dreſs throughout the whole peninſula, from Cape San Lucas to the laſt miſſion of San Ignacio, was uniform; for the males, whether children or adults, went at all times totally naked. But admidſt this naked ſimilarity, there was ſome diverſity in the ornaments uſed by every nation. The Edues towards Cape San Lucas decorated their heads with ſtrings of pearls braided with their hair: with theſe they interwove ſmall feathers, the whole forming an ornament, which at a diſtance reſembled in ſome meaſure a periwig. Thoſe of Loretto generally wore round their waſte a ſightly girdle; and on their forehead a curious fillet of net work: to theſe ſome added a neckcloth with ſome well wrought figures of nacar; and ſometimes ſmall round fruits like beads, which, in ſome meaſure, reſembled a roſary hanging on

their breaſt, of which poſſibly they might have had ſome knowledge in former times, at the firſt arrival of the jeſuits. They alſo adorned their arms with the ſame works, as with bracelets. The Cochines of the north uſually kept their hair ſhort, except a few, who let ſome locks grow to their full length. If they did not uſe pearls like thoſe of the ſouth, they had a more ſplendid ornament, a kind of diadem, or crown formed of ſeveral bands of nacar. To compoſe this, they firſt detached the mother of pearl from the ſhell, gave it a fine poliſh on both ſides; and by means of a flint ſevered it into pieces of ſix or eight lines in length, or two or three in breadth. At the extremities of theſe were ſmall holes for forming them into a circular ſhape adapted to the head; the little bandlets of nacar hanging down on all ſides. This kind of diadems was alſo anciently wore by the ſouthern Edues, who formed them of ſmall white round ſnail ſhells, reſembling pearls, and made a fine appearance. Probably this occaſioned the falſe opinion of ſir Francis Drake, who, as father Eſquerer relates, believed the Indians offered him the crown and ſcepter of California.

The women, though in ſome parts they went naked like the men, according to father Ferdinando Conſage, who obſerved that this

cuſtom prevailed in the bay de Los Angelos, between the laſt miſſion of San Ignacio and the Rio Colorado, yet they in general ſhewed a great attention to that decency, which is ſo neceſſary to the defence of their virtue; and to ſuch a degree, that even their infants of the female ſex were not without a proper covering. After the ſettlement of the garriſon of Loretto, they expreſſed great offence, when they obſerved any neglect of this in the daughters of the Spaniſh ſoldiers. The moſt decent in their cloathing were the women of the Edues towards Cape San Lucas. In this diſtrict is a certain ſpecies of palm trees, different from thoſe which produce dates; and from theſe the Indian women procure materials for their petticoats. In order to which, they beat its leaves as we do flax, till the thread or filaments are ſeparated, which, after this preparation, if they are not finer than thoſe of flax, they are at leaſt better and ſofter than thoſe of hackled hemp. Their garments conſiſt of three pieces; two of which form a petticoat, reaching from the girdle to the feet, and the third a ſhort cloak or mantelet, which covers the body from the ſhoulders. Theſe pieces are not woven, but the threads are faſtened at the top with one another as in fringes, and hang down in very cloſe and thick ſkains

and

and tufts. And though they make a ſort of linen of theſe jutas or palm threads, they only uſe it for bags, in which they keep their inſtruments. The Indian women of Cape San Lucas wear their hair long, looſe, and ſpread over their ſhoulders: but their head dreſs is the ſame with that generally uſed by all the women of California. It conſiſts of a piece of net work made of the above-mentioned palm threads; and when they cannot procure theſe, of mezcales and other herbs. Theſe nets however, are made with ſuch ingenuity, that the ſoldiers of the garriſon likewiſe uſe them. They alſo make very ſightly necklaces of nacar interſperſed with ſmall ſhells, pieces of ſedge, pearls, and the ſtones of fruit: the ends of the necklaces hang down to the waiſt; their bracelets are of the ſame faſhion and materials. Inventions which their fondneſs for ornament, and a deſire of making an attracting appearance ſuggeſted to the rude people of this corner of the world.

The women of the northern parts wear a different and meaner garment, being covered only from the waiſt to the knees; before they have a petticoat made of very thin pieces of ſedge cut off at the knots, and about the ſize of a ſtraw. Theſe they faſten together with meſcal threads. This petticoat, if it may be called

called ſuch, hides thoſe parts which nature has taught them to conceal; but does not defend them from the inclemencies of the weather. When they cannot procure ſedge, they make uſe of an apron, or petticoat made of the meſcal threads hanging down in the ſame manner; but the hinder part is made with a piece of the ſkin of a deer, or any other beaſt which their huſbands have killed. In ſome few places it is the cuſtom to cover their bodies with mantelets of the ſkins of ſea-wolves, hares, foxes, and other beaſts. One of the higheſt feſtivals among the Cochines, according to father Franciſco Maria Piccolo, was the day in which they annually diſtributed the ſkins to the women. All the neighbouring rancherias, he tells us, met at an appointed place, and there, with branches of trees and buſhes, erected a ſpacious arbour, from which they cleared a broad and level way for racers. Hither they brought the ſkins of all the beaſts they had killed that year; and laid them as a carpet along the courſe. None but the Caſiques and chiefs were admitted into the arbour; and when the banquet, which conſiſted of game, fiſh, and fruit, was over, they inebriated themſelves with cimarron, or wild tobacco. At the entrance of the arbour, one of the ſorcerers uſed to take his place, dreſſed in the habit of ceremony,

mony, and, with wild vociferations, proclaimed the praiſes of the hunters. In the mean time, the other Indians run to and fro in a frantick manner on the ſkins; while the women, who aſſiſted at this ceremony, ſung and danced with equal tranſport. This continued till the orator was quite ſpent, when the harangue concluded, and together with it the races. The Caſiques then came out of the arbour, and diſtributed to the women the ſkins for their cloathing that year; and this diſtribution was celebrated with freſh rejoicings. The foundation of all this feſtivity was, that theſe poor women were acquainted with no greater ornament than the ſkin of a deer, though it ſcarcely covered their nakedneſs, with any tolerable degree of modeſty.

The men, however, were ſuch ſtrangers to that virtue, that they looked upon thoſe principles as ignominious and diſgraceful, which required their being cloathed; and, accordingly, in the ſeveral miſſions and ſettlements, formerly made in California, when the fathers or ſoldiers offered the Indians cloaths, they either refuſed them, or afterwards threw them away. Indeed, their idea with regard to cloathing, was ſo different from the reſt of the human ſpecies, that, according to father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra, they were highly affronted when the

the father firſt directed them, to cover, at leaſt, what modeſty requires, not being in the leaſt ſenſible of any indecency from their being naked: and it cauſed among them as much laughter, to ſee one of their countrymen cloathed, as a monkey dreſſed like an officer would among us; of which the fathers had a diverting inſtance: a miſſionary, lately arrived at his miſſion, cloathed two little boys, which he entertained in his houſe, firſt to teach him the language, and afterwards to ſerve him as catechumens. The father himſelf was at the pains of cutting out, making, and fitting the cloaths for them. When the lads firſt went abroad in their new dreſs, it occaſioned ſuch indecent mirth, that the boys, aſhamed at being thus the ridicule of their countrymen, pulled off their cloaths, and hung them on a tree. But being unwilling to ſhew themſelves ungrateful to the father, and at the ſame time to avoid being reprimanded, they determined to divide his kindneſs, going in the day time naked, among their relations, and at night dreſſed themſelves to return to the father.

The houſes of the Californians make no better appearance than their habits. Thoſe of every rancheria are only wretched huts, near the few waters found in this country. And as there is a neceſſity of removing to other places in queſt

queſt of ſubſiſtence, they eaſily ſhift their ſtation. Where-ever they ſtop, they ſhelter themſelves under the trees, from the ſcorching heat of the ſun in the day time, and in ſome meaſure from the coldneſs of the night, and the inclemency of the weather. In the ſeverity of the winter, they live in ſubterraneous caverns, which they either made themſelves, or found in the ſides of mountains. The people near Cape San Lucas, make huts of the branches of trees, like thoſe of ſhepherds, which they doubtleſs learned from ſeamen, who have been obliged to lie at anchor ſome time off the cape. In the other parts of the country their houſes are only a little ſpace, incloſed with ſtones laid upon one another, half a yard high, one ſquare, and without any covering but the heavens: dwellings indeed ſo ſcanty and mean, that an European tomb would here be reckoned a palace. For within this ſmall precinct, they have not room to lie at full length; ſo that they ſleep in a ſitting poſture. In the cabeceras, indeed, ſome, to pleaſe the fathers, have made themſelves houſes, if they may be called ſuch, of adobe or unburnt bricks, covered with ſedge; but few live in them, nor is there a poſſibility of bringing them to it; for they ſhew the greateſt uneaſineſs, when obliged to live under any covering: an evident proof

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that the greateſt part of what are called the neceſſaries of life, ariſe purely from fancy, example, and cuſtom.

It is true, they ſtand in no need of large rooms for depoſiting their furniture, and the various implements of a wardrobe, for which the greateſt part of the houſes among us is taken up. With ſo little furniture, and ſo few utenſils do the Indians content themſelves, that in removing, they take them all on their ſhoulders; for they conſiſt only of a boat, a dart, a diſh, a bowl made in the ſhape of a high crowned hat, a bone which ſerves them for an awl in making it, a little piece of touch-wood for kindling a fire, a pita net, in which they put their fruit and ſeeds, another in the ſhape of a purſe or bag, faſtened to a kind of prong acroſs their ſhoulders, in which they carry their children, and laſtly, their bow and arrows; to which ſome, who affect elegancy, add a ſhell for drinking. Thoſe who live near the coaſts have alſo nets for fiſhing. This furniture the women carry, when they remove from one place to another; the men have only the bow and arrows with their appurtenances, as flints and feathers for the arrows, and nerves for the bows. But to ſecure them, and at the ſame time, not to incommode them in their march, they make holes in their ears, where they

they hang a large caſe which holds every thing they carry. The men likewiſe carry a ſmall bit of wood for procuring fire, which is ſoon done by rubbing it between their hands. The men alſo carry the boats, but it is the womens taſk to mend them: they make them of the bark of trees; and every part of the workmanſhip, the ſhaping, joining, and covering them is admired even by Europeans; and they ſometimes uſe them for fetching and preſerving water, and ſometimes for roaſting their grains and fruits, but are obliged to keep them in continual motion, that they may not burn. Their bowls, cups, and pots, they uſe for eating and drinking; and likewiſe the hats or head pieces worn by the women againſt the ſeverity of the weather. It ſeems ſtrange, that they never thought of uſing clay for theſe utenſils, by hardening it in the ſun or fire; but nothing of this was found among them, they being totally ignorant of any ſuch method, till they were taught it. The men likewiſe make the nets for fiſhing, for gathering the fruits, and for carrying the children, and even thoſe worn by the women. But in this particular, they ſhew ſuch exquiſite ſkill; making them of ſo many different colours, ſizes, ſuch variety of workmanſhip, that it is not eaſy to deſcribe them. Father Taraval ſays,

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" I can affirm that of all the nets I ever ſaw in Europe and New Spain, none are comparable to theſe, either in whiteneſs, the mixture of the other colours, or the ſtrength and workmanſhip, in which they repreſent a vaſt variety of figures." The women however, have ſo far a hand in theſe nets, that they ſpin the very fine thread, which they procure from herbs, and another coarſer ſort of threads from the palms and mezcales. Of the fine thread they form the net work for the head, the other parts being made of a mixture of both ſorts; as are likewiſe all the other kinds, together with thoſe curious and cloſely braided girdles or fillets, uſed by the nation of Loretto.

The Edues, or ſouthern Pericues, admitted a plurality of wives, who took care of the ſuſtenance of the family, and were very diligent in bringing to their huſbands a ſufficient quantity of fruits from the foreſt to keep them in a good temper. For if once they were diſcarded, which depended wholly on his humour, few were found who would take them: ſo that the more wives a huſband had, he was ſure to be the better provided for; a particular, which chiefly contributed to keep up this brutal cuſtom. The nation of Loretto were ſomething more moderate, the chief men among them never exceeding two wives, whilſt the commonalty

monalty contented themſelves with one. Adultery was accounted a crime which juſtly called for revenge, except on two occaſions; one at their feſtivals and routs, and the other at their wreſtling matches amongſt the rancherias; as on theſe occaſions it was the ſcandalous privilege of the victor. Among the Cochimies of the north, ſcarce any ſuch exceſs was known: and a miſſionary, ſpeaking of his diſtrict, ſays, that amidſt the unbounded freedom of theſe Indians, one does not ſee among them any debauchery or illegal amours: which he attributes to the uncomfortable life they lead among the mountains in hunger, cold, nakedneſs, and the want of every thing deſirable. The manner of negociating their marriages in the nation of Loretto, was to preſent the bride by way of earneſt with a batea or jug, in their language called olo, made of mezcale thread. Her acceptance of it denoted her conſent: and on her part, ſhe was to make her return in a net for the head; and this reciprocation of preſents confirmed the marriage. In other nations, the agreement was concluded at the end of a ball, to which the lover invited the whole rancheria; but after all this ſolemnity of the contract, any ſlight motive annulled it; and even in nations, among whom polygamy was not allowed. The Ca-

lifornians had adopted that abſurdity, which is ſo much laughed at in the accounts of Brazil, that the women after delivery, uſed immediately to go to ſome water and waſh themſelves and the child; and in other particulars to obſerve no manner of caution, going to the foreſt for wood and food, and performing every other ſervice the huſband wanted: whilſt he in the mean time lay in his cave, or ſtretched at full length under a tree affecting to be extremely weak and ill; and this farce continued for three or four days. Mothers were frequently known to deſtroy their children, in any ſcarcity of food, till the venerable father Salva-Tierra to put a ſtop to this unnatural practice, by ordering, that a double allowance ſhould be given to women newly delivered. It was alſo an eſtabliſhed cuſtom among them, like that in the Jewiſh law, for the widow to marry the brother, or neareſt relation of the deceaſed.

The time of gathering the pitahayas was their vintage: and they celebrated it with particular mirth and rejoicings. "The three pitahaya months, ſays father Salva-Tierra, reſemble the carnaval in ſome parts of Europe, when the men are in a great meaſure ſtupified or mad. The natives here alſo throw aſide what little reaſon they have, giving themſelves up to

to feaſtings, dancings, entertainments of the neighbouring rancherias, buffooneries, and comedies, ſuch as they are: and in theſe, whole nights are ſpent to the high diverſion of the audience. The actors are ſelected for their talent of imitation; and they execute their parts admirably well." As to their dances, ſays the father, "there is a great variety of them, and the performers acquit themſelves with much agility and gracefulneſs. We kept our Chriſtmas here with equal pleaſure and devotion, ſome hundreds of Indian catechumens being preſent, and above one hundred children performed their dances. Theſe are very different from thoſe of the nations of the other coaſt, they having above thirty of them repreſenting ſome eſſential part of their military diſcipline, fiſhery, travelling, burying, hunting, marrying, and the like: and a child of three or four years old will ſhew as much joy at his having performed his part well, as young men of warm emulation and judgment; a particular, with which we were very much entertained, and could not forbear admiring."

As practice naturally produces perfection, their excellence in theſe kinds of dances is not to be wondered at, it being their whole occupation in time of peace. They dance at their weddings; on any good ſucceſs in their fiſh-

ing or hunting; at the birth of their children; at a plentiful harveſt; at a victory over their enemies, and on any other occaſion, without weighing the importance of it. To theſe feſtivities the rancherias uſually invite one another; and likewiſe often ſend challenges for wreſtling, leaping, running, ſhooting with their bow, and trials of ſtrength; and in theſe and the like ſports, days and nights, weeks and months were often ſpent in times of peace. But theſe tranquil ſeaſons were ſubject to frequent interruptions by wars, factions, and feuds of ſome nations and rancherias againſt others. The end of theſe commotions was not the acquiſition of fame, or the enlargement of their territories, but uſually in revenge for affronts, or injureis among private perſons: or ſometimes they aroſe from more ſubſtantial cauſes, when a rancheria or nation went to fiſh, hunt, or gather fruits, where another had a kind of right by preſcription. The manner of revenge was to commit ſome hoſtility, or do ſome damage to the perſon chiefly offending; or, if he was beyond their power, to do it to his kindred or rancheria: after this all made the cauſe their own: and if they did not think themſelves able to give battle to their enemies, they applied to other rancherias with whom they were in friendſhip for ſuccour. The

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manner of declaring war was with a frightful noiſe, ordering every one to provide great quantities of reeds and flints; taking care that this declaration ſhould reach their adverſaries, that by terrifying them, they might obtain the eaſier victory: when they came to action they ſet up a ſhout, and engaged without any regularity, except in relieving the bodies in the front, when they gave way, either as quite ſpent, or for want of arrows; which were made of reeds, with ſharp flints for their points, but not poiſoned; though we may ſuppoſe it was not from generoſity, but their ignorance of any kind of poiſon, no deleterious plant being as yet known in the whole country. When the engagement became cloſe, they made uſe of a kind of wooden ſpears with the points ſharpened and hardened in the fire: and theſe did equal execution, with thoſe pointed with ſteel. The victory was gained not ſo much by addreſs, conduct, ſtrength, and courage, as by keeping up their ſpirits againſt their innate fear, or inſpiring the enemy with it. Thus their diſputes and private injuries continued to increaſe till they became general, and broke out into a formal war, in which numbers on both ſides were ſlain, and many of the rancherias in the ſouth have been totally deſtroyed by theſe inteſtine quarrels. Nor

are thoſe of Loretto and the northern free from diſturbances, but they never carry their revenge to ſuch exceſs, eſpecially thoſe of the north, who are obſerved to be of a more noble diſpoſition and clear underſtanding. They are likewiſe more mild and ſociable; having little of the obſtinacy and vindictive temper of their countrymen.

SECT. VII.

Of the ancient religion of the CALIFORNIANS.

The moſt intereſting ſubject for curioſity, and which requires the greateſt accuracy and attention in treating of it, is the ancient religion of the Californians. And the uſe to be made of ſuch reſearches in favour of our holy religion, may be ſeen in the famous biſhop Huet's Demonſtratio evangelica, where, with amazing erudition, he enumerates the different ſects, ancient and modern, of all nations in the world, to increaſe, from their darkneſs, the luſtre of the chriſtian diſpenſation. On the other hand a faithful repreſentation of the ſhadow of death, in which theſe Indians lay immerſed, will heighten the greatneſs of the divine goodneſs, in bringing them into the boſom of his church, and leading them in the way

way to happineſs, from their total ignorance of religion; which was even attended with many temporal evils. Theſe accounts may further be compared with thoſe, which the curious are already poſſeſſed of, relating to the ſects and religion, not only of the Mexicans, Peruvians, and other inhabitants of America, but of the moſt eaſtern nations of Aſia, the Japoneſe, Chineſe, Tartars, Corees, Manchees, the people of Kamſchatka, and Jacukt. This is however one of the articles, where no poſſible attention can give entire ſatisfaction; but will leave many uncertainties and imperfections.

All relations agree, that hitherto no idolatry has been found among the Californians. They neither worſhipped any creatures, nor had any repreſentations, or images of falſe deities, to whom they paid any kind of adoration. Nor had they among them any temples, oratories, altars, or any other place ſet apart for religious exerciſes. Indeed no ſuch thing was known there, no outward profeſſion of religion in feſtivals, prayers, vows, expiations, or any publick or private marks of addreſſes being made to God, or even of any knowledge of him; ſo that they did not diſtinguiſh themſelves in the leaſt from the ſavage, and deplorable blindneſs of their neighbours, the Indians

in the oppoſite coaſt of Cinaloa, of whom father Rivas ſays, that ſcarce any trace of religion was to be found among them, nor did their external performances ſhew the leaſt knowledge of God. The accounts however, mention, that there was among them a ſeries of ſpeculative tenets, which muſt ſurpriſe the reader. For they not only had an idea of the unity and nature of God as a pure ſpirit, and likewiſe of other ſpiritual beings; but alſo ſome faint glimmerings of the Trinity; the eternal generation of the logos, and other articles of the Chriſtian religion, though mixed with a thouſand abſurdities. And this light was ſo clear in them, that ſome miſſionaries have been induced to think, that they were deſcended from a people which had formerly been chriſtians. In theſe tenets however, there was ſome difference among the principal nations, and that the reader may have the better idea of them, I ſhall faithfully copy ſome fragments of narratives which I have in my hands.

One of the miſſionaries ſpeaking of the ſouthern Edues or Pericues, gives the following account of their religious principles. There is, ſay they, in heaven, a lord of great power, called Niparaya, who made the earth and the ſea; gives food to all creatures; created the trees and every thing we ſee; and can

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do whatſoever he pleaſes. We don't ſee him, becauſe he has no body as we have. This Niparaya has a wife called Anayicoyondi: and though he makes no uſe of her, as having no body, he has had three ſons: Of theſe one is Quaayayp, i. e. man; and Anayicoyondi was delivered of him in the mountains of Acaragui; though others ſay, that it was among ſome red mountains in the road from San Jago de los Coras, and which they call Cunimniici. Quaayayp has been with them (the ſouthern Indians) and taught them. He was very powerful, and had a great number of men: for he went into the earth, and brought people from thence. At length the Indians through hatred killed him: and at the ſame time put a wreath of thorns on his head. He is dead to this day; but remains very beautiful, and without any corruption. Blood is continually running from him: he does not ſpeak as being dead; but he has a tecolote or owl which ſpeaks to him. They further ſay, that in heaven there are many more inhabitants than on earth: and that formerly there were great wars in that place: a perſon of eminent power, whom ſome learned men call Wac, and others Tuparan roſe up againſt the ſupreme lord Niparaya, and being joined by numerous adherents dared to ſtand a battle with him. But was totally defeated by

by Niparaya, who immediately deprived Wac Tuparan of all his power, his fine pitahayas, and his other proviſions; turned him out of heaven, and confined him and his followers in a vaſt cave under the earth: and created the whales in the ſea to be as guards, that they ſhould not leave their place of confinement. They add, that the ſupreme lord Niparaya does not love that people ſhould fight; and that thoſe who die by an arrow or ſpear do not go to heaven. But on the contrary Wac Tuparan wiſhes that all people were continually fighting; becauſe all who are killed in battle go to his cave. There are two parties among the Indians; one ſiding with Niparaya, and are a ſerious diſcreet people, open to conviction, and readily liſten to the chriſtian truths which are inforced upon them from their own tenets. The other party is that devoted to Wac Tuparan; and are of very perverſe diſpoſitions, ſorcerers, and unfortunately very numerous. Theſe partiſans of Wac Tuparan have ſeveral opinions peculiar to themſelves, and entirely monſtrous: as that the ſtars are ſhining pieces of metal; that the moon was created by Cucunumic, the ſtars by Purutabui, and the like. Hitherto from the narratives of the dogmas of the Edues or Pericues, the tenets of the Loretto nation, which is an aſſemblage of Laymones, Monquies,

Monquies, Vehities, and Guacuros; living, as we have already obſerved, in the middle part of California, are ſufficiently explained in the following fragment. They have no word in their language ſignifying heaven, but they expreſs it by the general word notu, which ſignifies above or high. They alſo ſay, that in the north part of heaven lives the ſpirit of ſpirits, which they call Gumongo: he ſends peſtilences and ſickneſſes, and in former ages ſent down to viſit the earth another ſpirit, to whom they give the name of Guyiaguai. He was no ſooner come, than he began to ſow the land with pitahayas, the moſt common fruit in California; and likewiſe made the creeks along the coaſt of the gulf, till he came to a vaſt ſtone in a very ſpacious creek near Loretto, called by the Spaniards Puerto Eſcondido, where he reſided for ſome time. Here the other inferior ſpirits, his attendants, uſed to bring him pitahayas to eat, and fiſh which they caught in the creek. Guyiaguai's occupation was to make veſtments for his prieſts, who, in their language are called dicuinochos, of the hides which were offered to him. After ſome time Guyiaguai continued his viſitation, ſowing pitahayas, and making creeks along all the coaſt of the Loretto nation; and, as a memorial, left a painted table, which the dicuinochos

chos or prieſts make uſe of at their entertainments. They add, that the ſun, moon, and the morning and evening ſtars were men and women; that every night they fell into the weſtern ſea, whence they are under a neceſſity of ſwimming out by the way of the eaſt: that the other ſtars were lights made in heaven by that viſiting ſpirit and his attendants; and that though they became quenched by the ſea water, he went toward the eaſt to light them again. It would be very tedious to enter into a further detail of the many abſurdities of the ſame kind, which were impoſed on this unhappy people by their ſtupid or deſigning prieſts.

The nation of the Cochimies is not only the moſt numerous and extended, but they have likewiſe the beſt genius, and leſs extravagant opinions, and brutality in their cuſtoms; their behaviour is remarkably courteous, and they never break their word. "They believe, ſays a miſſionary, that there is in heaven a lord, whoſe name in their language ſignifies he who lives; that without a mother he had a ſon, to whom they give two names: one of which imports perfection or end of clay; the other ſignifies the ſwift. Beſides him they ſay there is another, whoſe name is, he who makes lords; though they give the name of lord to all the three;

yet

yet when aſked how many lords there are, they anſwer one, who made the heaven, the earth, the animals, the trees and fruits, alſo man and woman. They likewiſe have ſome notion of devils, ſaying that the great lord, called he who lives, created certain beings who are not ſeen, who revolted againſt him, and are enemies both of him and mankind: to theſe they give the name of lyars, enſnarers, or ſeducers. They add that when men die, theſe deceivers come and bury them, that they may not ſee the lord who lives." Theſe and ſome others of the ſame kind were the tenets of the Cochimies; which I could wiſh to relate at length, being confident that the converted Indians had no deſign of impoſing on the miſſionaries in telling them that before their converſion they held opinions in ſome reſpects the ſame with thoſe I have juſt related. I could likewiſe wiſh that I was able to write them in the very words of their languages, with their true and accurate ſignification, as from thence we might judge whether it is not reaſonable to conclude, that ſome ſtorm or other accident carried to the coaſts of California, ſome Europeans or inhabitants of the Philippines, of whom no memory now exiſts among the Indians; and theſe finding themſelves among barbarians, endeavoured to inſtill

inſtill into them the myſteries of the chriſtian religion; and that thoſe inſtructions, in proceſs of time, became more and more disfigured, till the arrival of the miſſionaries. It is now above two centuries ſince the coaſt of California has been viſited by Europeans; the inhabitants of Mexico from the weſtern coaſt of New Spain, have frequented the gulf of California to fiſh for pearls; and others have arrived at the weſtern coaſt by the way of the South ſea. And therefore among a variety of accidents, either as puniſhment, or from misfortune, one or more may have been obliged to remain among the Indians. It is known that ſome ſhips have left Mulattoes and Meſtizos at Cape San Lucas. Father Juan de Torquemada tells us, that the Californians ſhewed no manner of ſurpriſe at the ſight of negroes, there being ſome of that caſt among them, the race of thoſe who had been left by a ſhip from the Philippine iſlands. The ſame author mentions the adventure of the pilot Morera, who, being left on ſhore near Cape Mendozino, by the famous navigator ſir Francis Drake, after ſome years, fortunately arrived at the mine-garriſon of Sombrerete; the like accounts are to be met with in ancient narratives: and ſo lately as the year 1741, the Ruſſians were obliged to leave on the ſame coaſt of America, and at a higher latitude,

latitude, part of a ſhip's company who had ſailed on a diſcovery *: all which gives room to believe, that ſome Europeans, under a ſimilar diſaſter, had not the ſame good fortune to arrive at a country peopled with Europeans, after wandering over vaſt tracts inhabited by barbarians: but on the contrary, were obliged to paſs the remainder of their days among them. And what regard and authority would not an European of any tolerable capacity, acquire among ſuch a ſtupid race. But till we can produce facts ſufficient to clear up theſe points, we ſhall paſs to other particulars leſs ſubject to doubts and uncertainties.

Their edues or prieſts were what might be expected from this ſhadow or imitation of religion. Theſe edues were called by the name of their two ſects, Tuparan and Niparaya: thoſe of Loretto called them Dicuinochos, and the Cochimies Vamas or Guaſmas. In the narratives they are frequently called Hechiceros or ſorcerers; and in conformity to them, we ſhall alſo make uſe of the ſame name. But it is not therefore to be thought that theſe poor creatures had any commerce, or entered into a compact with apoſtate ſpirits, or that they received any inſtructions from them, as they audaciouſly declared, and were too readily be-

* See Part. iv. append. 7 of this work.

lieved, not only by Indians, but likewiſe by ſome Europeans. It is known that the ſame extravagant credulity obtained here, which not long ſince deluged the old world, with regard to the ancient pagan oracles. But the moſt ſagacious miſſionaries, after plain and convincing proofs, affirmed them to be arrant impoſtors and cheats, pretending to hold intelligence with thoſe ſpirits, the exiſtence of which as we have obſerved, was believed by the Californians. This ſuppoſitious commerce with ſpirits, or even with the devil himſelf, procured them great authority among that ſimple people; and this reverence they ſtrengthened by certain ceremonies and geſtures; and the introduction of many myſtical rites. The whole intention of their deceits was intereſt, the people imagining that ſucceſs was to be acquired, and calamities prevented by bringing them the beſt of the fruits they gathered, and of what they catched in fiſhing or hunting. This was a principle carefully inculcated into them, the Hechiceros ſometimes thundering out threatenings of ſickneſs, diſaſter, and failure of harveſts: at other times perſuading them to give liberally, by feeding them with magnificent hopes of affluence and the moſt deſirable enjoyments. For they affirmed that they were poſſeſſed of knowledge and power ſufficient to accompliſh all this

this, by means of their friendſhip and intercourſe with the inviſible ſpirits. What alſo ſtrengthened this authority was their being the only phyſicians from whom they could hope to be relieved in their pains and diſtempers: and whatever was the medicine, it was always adminiſtered with great oſtentation and ſolemnity. One was very remarkable, and the good effect it ſometimes produced, heightened the reputation of the phyſician. They applied to the ſuffering part of the patient's body the chacuaco, or a tube formed out of a very hard black ſtone, and through this they ſometimes ſucked, and other times blew, but both as hard as they were able, ſuppoſing that thus the diſeaſe was either exhaled or diſperſed. Sometimes the tube was filled with cimarron or wild tobacco lighted, and here they either ſucked in, or blew down the ſmoke, according to the phyſician's direction: and this powerful cauſtick ſometimes, without any other remedy, has been known entirely to remove the diſorder. In the other tranſactions of life, the Hechiceros practiſed variety of deceits, and pretended to an unlimited power: and it was no difficult taſk to gain an abſolute aſcendant over theſe poor people, whoſe ſtupidity and ignorance opened ſo wide a door to their inſeparable companions timidity and ſuperſtition.

The Indians of the nation of Loretto had ſchools, whereby theſe profeſſors inſtructed their youths in the above opinions, and ſome other needleſs puerilities: but recommended to them as truths of great importance. In order to this, their pupils attended them to caves or ſolitary places, at a diſtance from the woods: and there they taught them to form certain figures on tablets, and when perfect in theſe, they were taught others as children in our ſchools are taught to write. This remained a ſecret for ſome years, till the reverend father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra, obſerved that when the time of gathering the pitahayas arrived, all the boys about the garriſon of Loretto ſuddenly diſappeared, and from one of theſe he drew the ſecret; but not without many artifices: for notwithſtanding the ſtupidity in which they are brought up, they can on occaſion diſſemble and be reſerved: for ſilence is one of their profeſſions.

But the authority of the Californian prieſts on no occaſion appears with ſuch ſplendour as on the publick feaſts, celebrated by a whole nation, or a ſingle rancheria, or family. There are no ſacrifices, nor any other ceremony which has the leaſt appearance of worſhip, either of the Divinity, or thoſe ſpirits they have ſome confuſed idea of; but the whole conſiſts in

eating, drinking, dancing, talking, and laughing. However the preſence of the prieſts makes them conſidered as religious ſolemnities: for they indeed act the chief part, and dreſs themſelves in their habits of ceremony, which are only uſed on extraordinary occaſions. This conſiſts of a large cloak covering them from their head to their feet, and entirely compoſed of human hair. Their head is adorned with a very high plumage made of the feathers of hawks, and in their hands they hold a monſtrous fan formed out of the larger feathers. The ſouthern Edues, when they cannot procure feathers, adorn, or indeed rather diſfigure, the head with the tails of deers, and the Cochimes add two ſtrings of the hoofs of the ſame beaſt; one as a chain round the neck, and the other as a girdle. The ridiculouſneſs of the garb is ſtill heightened by daubing their bodies over with red, black, and different colours; ſo that the reader's own fancy will eaſily repreſent what figures they muſt make. Theſe open the entertainment with ſucking the chacuaco, till they are become frantick and almoſt drunk with the ſmoke. Thus intoxicated, they begin the oration on their tenets, which is delivered with wild geſtures and frightful vociferations. They pretend themſelves to be inſpired by thoſe ſpirits which the nation acknowledges, and in their

name denounce to them whatever their frenzy or intereſt ſuggeſts. To give the greater weight to their embaſſy, they ſometimes pretended that they were the very ſpirits in which they believed: at others that they had been in heaven and converſed with the deities: and to prove it produced the fleſh of a deer, or a piece of ſkin and an herb, with which they ſaid it was in their power to kill whom they pleaſed. But their moſt uſual device was to hold up in their hands ſome little tablets of wood made with great labour, for want of iron tools of meſquite, or another hard wood called Una de Gato, on which were painted ſome groteſque figures, affirmed to be the true copy of the table, which the viſiting ſpirit left with them at his departure to heaven: and theſe figures were the ſame which the Loretto profeſſors taught the boys at their private academy. Whilſt theſe frantick preachers were haranguing, the others were feaſting and dancing, and being inflamed by gluttony, intemperance, and dancing, the whole concluded in the moſt abominable gratification of their appetites, all mingling indiſcriminately, as if determined to violate every principle of ſhame, reaſon, and modeſty.

Though theſe feaſts were often without any neceſſary motive; yet thoſe made at the gathering of the pitahayas, for a victory, for the diſtribution

tribution of the captures of fiſh, and the deer ſkins, greatly ſurpaſſed the others in ſolemnity: but that on boring the ears and noſtrils of the children exceeded all. To theſe all the women and men reſorted: the ornament of wearing pearls from their noſtrils to their ears being common to both ſexes. The ſhrieks of the children on theſe occaſions, incited the fathers to greater and louder ſhouts, in order to ſuppreſs any ſympathy with the cries and tears of their children. At theſe feaſts, the prieſts or impoſtors, did not omit exerciſing that authority which they owe to the fear of the people, celebrating, according to their private paſſions, ſome as brave and generous; upbraiding others as cowards, factious, and wicked, and even enjoin them certain penances: the moſt cuſtomary of which was faſting or abſtinence; laying their commands on them to forbear for a certain time to taſte of this or that fruit, fiſh, or beaſt. Sometimes a whole rancheria came under the ſentence, when they were either to faſt alternately, or every one was enjoined to abſtain from ſome particular thing: ſo that the faſt might be general. This was not the only method of chaſtiſing them; they alſo ordered them to clear ways along the higheſt mountains, for the more eaſy deſcent of the viſiting ſpirit when it came to ſee them. And at cer-

tain diſtances to lay a heap of ſtones where it might ſtop and reſt itſelf. But what cannot be read without horror, is, that theſe inhuman impoſtors ſometimes even ordered them to throw themſelves down from a precipice: and though they muſt neceſſarily be daſhed to pieces, ſuch was the blindneſs and dread of theſe poor creatures, that it was very ſeldom their orders failed of being executed, either willingly or by force. Beſides this the hechiceros raiſed contributions on all, by means of two tributes: and theſe were paid with a punctual willingneſs. The firſt was the beſt of their fruits and captures at hunting and fiſhing; the ſecond, the tribute of hair, of which were made the cloaks of ceremony uſed only at their ſolemnities; and which with their other ornaments were committed to the care of a particular perſon, who was to keep them in a remote and private place. This tribute the children paid in return for their inſtruction, and the adult, who had been ſick, if they recovered, in gratitude for their cure; and if not, for their care after death: for the Californians are not forſaken by their prieſts; on the contrary, they redouble their cares, and extend them to the whole rancheria; but when the diſtemper arrives at ſuch a height, that herbs, juices, the chicuaco, and ſimarron or tobacco, avail nothing,

they

they assemble all the patient's relations, that he might die with the greater uneasiness. In the first place, if the patient have a daughter or sister, they cut off the little finger of her right hand, pretending thereby that the blood either saved the patient, or at least removed from the family all sorrow for his death; but was in reality an additional cause of pain and grief: then followed the visits from the whole rancheria, who, after talking to him, and being acquainted with his desperate condition, set up a confused howling; sometimes covering their face with their hands and their hair, and repeating this ceremony from time to time divided into separate companies; and all in the presence of the dying person. The women increased the horror of these howlings with passionate cries and exclamations, setting forth the merits of the patient, in order to move the greater compassion. The howling being over, the patient requests the company to suck and blow him in the same manner as the physicians had done: and this last friendly office is performed by every one; sucking and blowing first the part affected, and afterwards all the other organs of the senses with the utmost force they are capable of; as this and the force of the cries indicates their degree of affection for the deceased. In the mean

time, the doctors thruſt their hands into the patient's mouth, pretending to pluck death forcibly out of his body. The women ſtill continuing their outcries, give the patient many ſevere ſtrokes, in order to awake him, till betwixt one uneaſineſs and another they deprive him of life: and as ſoon as he is found ſenſeleſs, they immediately proceed to bury or burn him, making no difference, but chuſing the moſt convenient. The funerals are immediately performed without any preparations, amidſt a continuance of the ſame howlings, and without any ſingularity, only burying or burning with the patient all his utenſils. So little did they enquire into the reality of his death, previouſly to the burning or interment, that one day father Salva-Tierra, being near San Juan de Londo, and hearing the lamentations and ſeeing the fire, haſtened to the ſpot, where he found them juſt going to burn a man, who by his motions he could perceive to have ſtill ſome remains of life. He ſnatched him from the fire, and in time recovered him, reproving their inconſiderateneſs and barbarity.

Thus have I given a brief detail of the religion of the ancient Californians. In the iſlands formed by the channel of Santa Barbara, along the weſtern coaſt, which was diſcovered by general Viſcaino; and in others at a ſmall diſtance

tance from these, visited in 1733, by father Taraval, who called them de los Dolores, there is some difference in religious affairs, which I shall relate in the very words of the author. Father Torquemada, speaking of the island of San Catherine, says, "In this island are several rancherias or communities, and in them a temple with a large level court, where they perform their sacrifices; and in one, the place of the altar, was a large circular space, with an inclosure of feathers of several birds of different colours, which I understood were those of the birds they sacrificed in great numbers: and within the circle was an image, strangely bedaubed with a variety of colours, representing some devil, according to the manner of the Indians of New Spain, holding in its hand a figure of the sun and moon. It happened that when the soldiers came to see this temple, they found within the said circle two crows, considerably bigger than ordinary: and at the approach of the Spaniards they flew away, but alighted among the rocks in the neighbourhood: and the soldiers seeing them of such an uncommon largeness, fired their pieces and killed them. At this, an Indian who had attended the Spaniards as a guide, fell into a perfect agony; I was informed that they believed the devil spoke to them in these crows,

and

and thence beheld them with great veneration. Some time after, one of the religious going that way, ſaw ſome Indian women waſhing fiſh along the ſhore, in order to dreſs them for their families; but ſome crows came up to them, and with their beek took the fiſh from their hands, whilſt they obſerved a profound ſilence, not daring ſo much as to look at them, much leſs frighten them away. Nothing therefore could appear more horrible to the Californians, than that the Spaniards ſhould ſhoot at theſe reſpectable birds." Father Taraval, in the manuſcript account of his voyage and diſcoveries in the year 1732, ſays of the iſland de la Trinidad, " That the governor was likewiſe its prieſt, i. e. ſorcerer or hechicero, though he had others ſubordinate to him: ſo that every community had its civil and ſpiritual officer. On their heads they wore ſuch a groteſque variety of things, as at once moved pity and laughter. His decalogue was as follows, ' That they ſhould not eat of their firſt hunting or fiſhing, under pain of being diſqualified from hunting or fiſhing hereafter. 2d, That they ſhould not eat of ſome certain fiſh. 3d, That they ſhould forbear eating ſome particular parts of the game, and theſe were the beſt and fatteſt, ſaying, that this fat was that of dead old men; and that by eating it old age would imme-

immediately come upon them. Thus the beſt pieces fell to the ſhare of the old hechiceros, alledging, that as they were already advanced in years, they had nothing to fear on this head. 4. That they ſhould not gather certain fruits, nor take ſome ſpecies of fiſh (and both of theſe were the beſt) as they would do them a great deal of hurt; but that nothing injured old people. 5. That if they caught any ſtag or fiſh of an extraordinary ſize, not to offer to eat it, as belonging to the hechiceros. 6. That they ſhould not look at the ſeven ſtars, as they would thereby draw on themſelves many misfortunes and calamities. 7. That they ſhould not look towards the iſlands of the north; for that whoever ſtood and looked at them, would fall ſick and die without remedy. 8. That they ſhould be mindful of their anceſtors, and make feaſts in commemoration of them. 9. That in very hot weather, all ſhould come out and pay their ſalutations to the ſun, who would not then moleſt them in their huntings and fiſhings; but on the contrary render every undertaking proſperous. 10. That they ſhould believe in their hechiceros: but this was too difficult a taſk; for no ſooner were they returned to the miſſion, than they began to laugh at ſuch abſurdities.' His articles of belief were of a piece with his precepts. The principal

cipal deity was the demon, in honour of whom ſome feſtivals were celebrated. The chief reaſon brought for theſe entertainments to his honour was, becauſe the ſorcerers told them, that it was the demon who had given them, and would continue to give them children. Theſe feaſts were in a manner required by their deity. Others they made in honour of their anceſtors, on whom they conferred the ſame name as on the demons. The form of his apotheoſis or canonization, was as follows: the hero of the ſolemnity was repreſented by the branches of ſeveral trees, placed on an eminence; after which they danced before this image, and then imagined him completely canonized.

Their pontificalia uſed on theſe occaſions, were firſt a wig as long as a canon's cope, made of the votive hair of ſick perſons. Round their neck they wore a ſtring of deers feet, and another as a girdle round their waiſte. In their hands they held a large fan compoſed of a great variety of feathers, and a tube made of a very hard ſtone, for ſucking the patients in the manner formerly deſcribed. All the particulars, except the hairs and the tube, are entirely different from thoſe rites of the Californians; which I have on that account mentioned, omitting other things which obtain among both."

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Though the iſlands and tracts to which theſe accounts relate, have little correſpondence and intercourſe, yet they are within ſight of one another. In ſuch a vicinity, it is ſurpriſing there ſhould be ſo remarkable a difference in ſo eſſential a point as religion. But ſo I find it in the narrative, which however I do not pretend to impoſe upon the reader as an inconteſtible authority.

A

NATURAL and CIVIL

HISTORY

OF

CALIFORNIA.

PART II.

Account of CALIFORNIA till the first arrival of the Jesuits.

SECT. I.

The first accounts of the Pacifick or South-sea.

IT is surprising that during the course of so many ages, the globe which we inhabit should be so imperfectly known: and that some of the human species should have known nothing of others inhabiting the same. The 15th century is justly distinguished in Europe, for the first revival of arts and sciences: and among the consequences of that revival, it has the honour of reckoning the discovery of countries, the great extent of which entitled it to be called the new world. Spain being now freed from the dominion of the Moors, and the whole country

country united in two kingdoms; thoſe of Caſtile and Portugal, not only employed its victorious arms in Europe and Africa, but likewiſe ſent its fleets on the ocean, which had been till then ſo much dreaded. The Eaſt Indies, whoſe riches had filled Europe with their fame, from the moſt remote antiquity, in that century acquired additional reputation from the rich commerce of its products and manufactures, carried on from the Levant by the Venetians, Genoeſe, and Florentines. The ancient geographers alſo, eſpecially the Greeks, which now began to be read, together with the accounts of Marco Paulo, a Venetian and other travellers; and likewiſe the relations of ſome natives of thoſe countries who came into Europe, and whoſe diſcretion and probity left no room to queſtion their veracity, added an additional glory to that country. But though more ſolid proofs of the riches of India, together with its ſpices and other goods were brought into Europe, not only the conqueſt, but even an immediate commerce was impracticable to the Europeans, who, knowing of no way thither by ſea, were under a neceſſity of carrying on the traffick for eaſtern goods with the Mahometans, as being maſters of all the interjacent countries. The Portugueſe, who with inconceivable boldneſs and perſeverance had diſcovered and ſurveyed

veyed the weſtern coaſt of Africa, as far as Guinea, and from thence to the Cape of Good Hope, did not doubt but they ſhould at laſt find a ſecure paſſage through the ocean to India. In confidence of this, in the year 1487, they ſent ſeveral perſons by land to acquaint themſelves with the eaſtern countries; and eſpecially thoſe of Preſter-John, a prince reputed to be very powerful and a chriſtian. They likewiſe ſolicited the pope for a perpetual grant of all the land which ſhould be diſcovered in the ocean from Cape Boxador to India incluſively.

Whilſt the Portugueſe were employed in ſeeking an eaſtern paſſage to India, the kings of Caſtile who had made themſelves maſters of ſeveral iſlands in the ocean, and proſecuted their claims to the conqueſt of Guinea, ſent Chriſtopher Columbus, on the diſcovery of new countries to the weſtward, he having propoſed to find a new and ſhorter way to India and the Spice iſlands. In effect, this wonderful man, either from the reading ancient authors, or the papers of a certain pilot, either knew, or formed a conjecture that there were ſome countries or iſlands to the weſt of the Canaries or Azores: yet he little thought that India was at ſo great a diſtance from the extreme coaſts of Africa and Spain. On the contrary, from the authority of ancient geo-

graphers and philoſophers, he concluded that the terraqueous globe was much leſs than in reality it is; that the paſſage from Spain to India, was not long in itſelf; and that by this way, he ſhould much ſooner reach Cathay, and the iſland of Cipango, of which Marco Paulo, the Venetian, gives ſuch an alluring deſcription. Accordingly he made the offer to the kings of Portugal and England, but was diſappointed at both courts: this and the maps of Paulo Phyſico, the Florentine, to whom he communicated his thoughts, who confirmed him in his plan, may be ſeen in the hiſtory of this great man, written by his ſon Fernando Columbus, the worthy hiſtorian of ſuch a father. Afterwards in the year 1492, Columbus ſailed a new courſe, and after diſcovering the iſlands of Lucaya, Cuba, Hiſpaniola, and others, he returned to Spain, and with unparalleled glory entered Liſbon on the 4th of March 1493, Don Juan III. king of Portugal, as became a prince of his religion and generoſity, not only rejected with indignation the propoſal of ſome great men among the Portugueſe, to put this illuſtrious navigator to death, but conferred great honours on him. However on a ſuppoſition that the iſlands diſcovered lay within the dominion granted him by the pope, he tranſmitted a ſpirited complaint

plaint to the king of Caſtile, and ordered a fleet to be fitted out, and ſent to thoſe parts. The king of Caſtile found means to ſuſpend this reſolution; and in the mean time, the incomparable queen Iſabella, procured a brief from pope Alexander VI. granting to her kingdoms of Caſtile and Leon, any diſcoveries made by her ſubjects: and it was the ſame pope, who, to avoid injuring the Portugueſe, made the famous diviſion of the world between theſe two kingdoms, by a line of demarcation drawn north and ſouth 100 leagues weſt of Cape de Verd, and the Azores. This expedient not ſatisfying the king of Portugal, their catholick majeſties, with the conſent of the pope, by a treaty made at Tordeſillas in 1494, removed the line of demarcation 270 leagues farther weſt of the ſaid Cape and iſlands.

On the concluſion of this treaty, admiral Columbus, and other Spaniards proſecuted their diſcoveries, the extent and richneſs of which, only ſerved to inflame the thirſt after the treaſures of the Eaſt Indies, of which ſuch magnificent accounts were current all over Europe. What increaſed it even more, was the arrival at Liſbon in the year 1499, of the great Vaſco de Gama, from his ſucceſsful diſcovery of India, being the firſt who ventured to double the Cape of Good Hope; and thus

opened the way to the Eaſt Indies. At that time an opinion prevailed in Spain, that there was a ſtreight through which the gulf of Mexico communicated with another vaſt ſea to the ſouthward. Admiral Columbus aſſured their catholick majeſties, that nothing ſhould be wanting on his part to find it out: and accordingly in the year 1502, he ſailed a fourth time to the weſtward, and diſcovered the coaſts from the iſlands of Los Guanacos, and the gulf of Honduras beyond Porto Bello, without meeting with any ſtreight, as indeed it was impoſſible he ſhould, there being no ſtreight thereabouts, but an iſthmus of land, which has ſince been called the peninſula of Panama. Some ſay that it is to this voyage we owe the firſt accounts of the South ſea, whilſt, according to others, thoſe coaſts had been diſcovered three years before by Vicente Yanez Pinzon, and Juan Diez de Solis. Fernando Columbus, who accompanied his father in this voyage, contradicts that opinion, and adds, that it was not till the year 1508, that Pinzon and Solis coaſted along theſe parts, though they endeavoured to aſſume the honour of being the firſt diſcoverers; and to defraud the admiral of his juſt reputation: and to this end altered the names which he had before given to ſome parts. However this be, it muſt be owned that before

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this fourth and laſt voyage of Columbus, he had ſome knowledge of the South ſea, as the opinion of the ſtreight he went in queſt of, though founded on a miſtake, ſuppoſes ſuch a ſea. This his ſon does not conceal: and it is not improbable that ſome Spaniards, of whom no memory remains, having before coaſted along the gulf of Mexico, either in queſt of countries or gold, they were informed by the inhabitants of the iſthmus, that on the other ſide not far off was a ſea: and this gave riſe to the ſtory of the ſtreight. However it is certain that theſe confuſed and ambiguous accounts were the firſt we had of the South ſea.

This was not the only courſe attempted at that time to India, by the way of America. So early as the year 1495, ſeveral Spaniards, Engliſh, Danes, and others *, ſteered northward in queſt of ſuch a paſſage. The like attempt was in vain proſecuted during the two following centuries and a half; and in England is now carrying on with greater ardour than ever; though very probably the event will be the ſame. A ſearch after the junction of theſe ſeas, was alſo undertaken in another part, with a perſeverance which at length was crowned with ſucceſs. As Columbus had diſcovered in his third voyage, in the year 1498, the continental coaſt of Paria towards the ſouth, ſe-

* See Mr. Ellis's voyage to Hudſon's bay.

veral Spaniards fitted out ſhips to proſecute theſe diſcoveries: among which, Per Alonſo Ninno, a native of Palos, who, in the year 1599, diſcovered Cumana, and the coaſts as far as Venezuela, and his countryman Vicente Yanez Pinzon, with Arias Pincon his couſin, in the year 1500, came to the mouth of the great river of the Amazons, which is 80 leagues in breadth, and from thence coaſting further along Braſil, and doubling the Cape of San Auguſtine, came into the ſea, which receives the river de la Plata; and gave hopes of finding that way the ſo much deſired paſſage to India.

The king of Portugal, likewiſe with a view of finding a ſhorter paſſage to that country, which afforded ſuch ineſtimable funds for commerce, than that lately diſcovered by the Cape of Good Hope, after having in the ſame year 1500 ſent to the north of America, Gaſpar de Corte Real, who landed on the Tierra de Labrador, and gave his name to ſome iſlands; in the following year 1501, ſent to the ſouthward, America Veſpuſio, a Florentine, who without the leaſt reaſon, has been ſo fortunate as to give name to the fourth part of the world. This navigator, after paſſing the abovementioned cape of St. Auguſtine in Braſil advanced to within 40 degrees of the equi-

equinoctial; and thus arrogated to himself the first discovery of that cape and the sea; though the year before, as we have observed the Pincones had reached it, unless there be in this case the same fraud, which Columbus's son complains to have been committed in prejudice of his father. Other authors attribute the first discovery of Brasil to Pedro Alvarez Cabral: but we shall detain the reader no longer on this subject.

Amidst so many expeditions westward, northward, and southward; it was the year 1513 before our parts of the world had any clear and certain accounts of the South sea. The first European discoverer of it was Vasco Nunnez de Balboa, born at Xerez de los Cavaleros, who being employed in the conquest of Darien and the gulf of Uraba, and guided by the son of the Cacique Panquiaca, passed the chain of mountains, from whence, with inexpressible pleasure, he had a sight of the South sea; and arriving at the shore of the gulf, on Michaelmas-day, he called it by that saint's name: he was a man worthy of great encomiums, as the founder of the vast discoveries in Peru and other places, but who, for his cruelty to the Indians, the God of mercy punished with an unfortunate death. Father Mariana says, that Balboa was a native of

Badajoz; but Gomara makes him a gentleman of Xerez de Badajoz, or de los Cavaleros.

About this time, the Portugueſe made a diſcovery of the Molucca iſlands, which lie ſo far eaſtward, that the Spaniards laid claim to them, with all the remaining part of India towards the eaſt, as within the hemiſphere belonging to them, by the demarcation and treaty of Tordecillas. This renewed the ancient quarrels between the two kingdoms, and in the mean time, in the year 1516, Fernando Magellanes, and Ruy Falero, both Portugueſe, waited on the great cardinal Ximenez de Ciſneſes, with a plan for finding a ſouthern paſſage into the South ſea, and through it to the Molucca, and Spice iſlands. After the death of the cardinal, they laid the like propoſal before king Charles, and with five Ships, ſailed from San Lucas in the Year 1519.

Magellanes ſteered towards the ſouth, and having paſſed cape St. Auguſtine, he run down along the coaſt to that famous ſtreight which retains his name, and, after infinite difficulties and hazards, made his way through it into the South ſea; this alſo he happily croſſed, and arrived at the Iſlands de los Ladrones, at preſent called Marianas: from theſe he continued his courſe to thoſe of Luzon, which have

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ſince received the name of Philippines, where he unfortunately periſhed with ſome of his companions. The others continuing their voyage, came to the Moluccas, and Juan Sebaſtian del Cano, a native of Gueitaria in Guipuſcoa maſter of the ſhip Victoria, returned in the year 1522, from thence to Spain by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, having in the term of three Years, made the firſt complete voyage round the world; and therefore his ſhip, with much more reaſon than the Argos, ought to be placed among the conſtellations.

Thus had the South ſea been diſcovered near the antarctick Pole, and about the equinoctial, but the diſcovery of it to the north, was ſtill wanting; an enterpriſe reſerved for Hernando Cortes. This hero had ſubdued the empire of Mexco, and made himſelf maſter of the capital, on the 13th of Auguſt, 1521. This was immediately followed by offers of ſubmiſſion, from the king of Mechoacan, whoſe dominions reached to the coaſt of the South ſea. Cortes, as he himſelf ſays, in a letter written the following year to Charles V. having had ſome knowledge of this ſea a little before, perhaps from the time of Motezuma, and his thoughts being continually forming new enterpriſes, with that magnanimity which will always equal him to the Alexanders and Cæſars.

ſars. He ſent Spaniards ſeveral ways to take a ſurvey of the coaſts; and among the momentous cares which employed his mind, he gave orders for building two Caravelas *. So ſanguine were his hopes, that he expreſſes them in the following manner to the emperor: "The accompliſhment of this your majeſty may conclude, will be of the greateſt reputation and ſervice, of any thing ſince the diſcovery of the Indies."

In the mean time, a new, though long and difficult paſſage to the Moluccas, being now diſcovered in Spain, by the arrival of the ſhip Victory, and a ſurvey having been taken of theſe, and the ſituation of the world better determined, the diſputes betwixt the kings concerning the right to that part of the Eaſt-Indies, became more inflamed. In the year 1523, Charles V. ordered ſeveral officers to go in ſearch of a ſuppoſed ſtreight, in the iſthmus of Panama. Accordingly, Franciſco Hernandez and Gil Gonzales Davila, looked for it from that part all along the coaſt of the South ſea. The ſame year the emperor ſent orders to Cortes,

* An old faſhioned veſſel formerly much uſed among the Spaniards, very ſharp before, but ill-ſhaped, and the maſts leaning forward. Their ſails are all triangular, that they keep nearer the wind, than other ſails, but are not ſo commodious to hand.

to

to ſearch for it in both ſeas. At that time this could not be done in the South ſea, but on the ſide of the gulf of Mexico, he ſent Chriſtopher de Olid, who afterwards deſerted with five ſhips and a brigantine, that he ſhould go with the celebrated Hebueras; and his couſin Diego Hortado had three ſhips given him, that together with Olid, he might take a careful ſurvey of the whole coaſt, from Yucaton to Darien. In the year 1524, a congreſs was held at Badajoz, conſiſting of miniſters of ſtate, civilians, coſmographers, and pilots from Spain and Portugal, relating to the pretenſions of both crowns to the Moluccas. After two months debating, the Spaniſh judges gave ſentence in favour of their crown, which was proteſted againſt by the Portugueſe; thus the congreſs broke up, after ſerving only to widen the breach: And the two kings quarrelled about what was in a few years to be, as at preſent it is, the recompence of the diligence of other nations, and even of their own revolted ſubjects. But not long after, they came to an agreement, the emperor yielding to the king of Portugal his right to the Moluccas, in conſideration of thirty-five thouſand ducats. Though this accommodation was ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt, by Pedro Ruiz de Villegas, a famous ſcholar of Burgos, who acted a capital part in the conferences at Badajoz,

joz, and who was univerſally reſpected for his birth, learning, wiſdom, and morals.

The emperor, however, in the ſame year 1524, and not in 1525 as Gomara ſays, ſent Eſtevan Gomez from Corunna to diſcover a paſſage to the Moluccas, by the north part of America. This he found impracticable, but he brought home with him ſome Indians, and according to Oviedo, who was then living in Toledo, he arrived in that city in 1525. The emperor farther ordered a houſe to be erected at Corunna, for the trade to the Spice iſlands; and at the ſame port was fitted out a fleet of ſeven ſhips, the command of which was given to Don Frey Gari-Joffre de Loayſa, a commander of the order of St. John, born at Ciudad Real. With theſe he put to ſea in September 1525, in queſt of the ſtreight of Magellan, in order to paſs thro' it to the Moluccas. The commander ſafely reached the South ſea, but there he died, and afterwards his ſquadron was diſabled from purſuing the enterpriſe. In the following year 1526, Charles V. ſent Sebaſtian Cabot with four carvels, to go the ſame courſe to the Moluccas. The end of this expedition was to draw the trade of the ſpice iſlands, to Panama or Nicaragua: but he went no further than the Rio de la Plata, and returned with as little advantage as reputation.

SECT.

SECT. II.

First discovery of CALIFORNIA, and voyages thither, in the time of Hernan Cortes.

We have already taken notice, that in the year 1522, immediately after the conquest of Mexico, Cortes acquainted Charles V. that having in three different parts discovered the South sea, he had given orders for building two carvels and two brigantines. To this end he sent to Zacatula forty Spaniards, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, and seamen, and with them, in a passage of above two hundred leagues across New Spain, he caused to be carried from Vera Cruz, iron, anchors, sails, cables, rigging, pitch, tallow, oakum, bitumen, and other naval stores, purchased there. After all was safely arrived at Zacatula, the magazine took fire, so that nothing was left except the anchors and nails. Yet this did not discourage the firmness of Cortes. He immediately gave orders for purchasing and dispatching the necessary materials, as he himself writes to the emperor, excusing the slowness with which the building of the ships went on, though the whole was at his expence, he had to encounter in Spain, in order to acquire artillery and other

ſtores, the inflexible oppoſition of the archbiſhop of Burgos, preſident of the Indies, and other men of power, of which however he complains. The great hopes he conceived of theſe ſhips, and the various ſchemes of a man, whoſe mind otherwiſe muſt have been ſufficiently embarraſſed with the new conqueſt of ſuch vaſt dominions, cannot be better diſplayed than by himſelf, who in a letter to the emperor from Temixtitan or Mexico, the 15th of October 1524, writes thus: "I place a value on theſe ſhips beyond all expreſſion, being certain, that with them if it pleaſe God, I ſhall be the inſtrument of your Imperial majeſty's being in theſe parts, ſovereign of more kingdoms and dominions, than have been hitherto known in our nation. May he pleaſe to proſper it in his good pleaſure, that your Imperial majeſty may obtain ſuch an unparalleled advantage: for I believe that when I have performed this, your highneſs may be monarch of the whole world, whenever you pleaſe." In another clauſe of the ſame letter, he ſays, "In the former clauſes, moſt potent lord, I have ſpecified to your excellency the parts whither I have ſent people both by land and ſea: with which, under the divine favour, I believe your majeſty will be greatly pleaſed. And as it is my continual care and employment, to project every poſſible way of manifeſting and putting

putting in execution my zeal for the ſervice of your royal majeſty; ſeeing nothing further is remaining, but the knowledge of the coaſt yet undiſcovered, between the river Panaco and Florida, ſurveyed by captain Juan Ponce de Leon; and from thence to the northern coaſt of the ſaid country of Florida, as far as the Bacallaos: it being certain that on that coaſt is a ſtreight running into the South ſea: and if it be found according to a true draught which I have of that part of the ſea, near the Archipelago, which, by your highneſs's orders, Magellanes diſcovered; I am of opinion it will iſſue very near it. And if it pleaſe our Lord, that the ſaid ſtreight joins there, the voyage to the Spice iſlands will be ſo convenient for theſe your majeſty's dominions, that it will be two thirds ſhorter than the preſent courſe; and without any hazard to the ſhips in going or coming, for the voyage will be entirely among the ſtates and countries belonging to your majeſty, that on any neceſſity, they may ſafely put in where moſt convenient, as in a country belonging to your majeſty, whoſe flag they carry. Such are my thoughts of the great ſervice which will reſult to your majeſty from this; though I have been at immenſe expences, and contracted vaſt debts for the ſervice both by ſea and land; for the horſes and artillery which I have in this city,

and

and ſend to all parts, beſides daily incidental charges brought in to me; for every thing has been, and is done at my expence. And what increaſes the burden is, that all neceſſaries, eſpecially naval and military, bear here ſuch an exceſſive price, that rich as the country is, the revenue I can draw from it, will not ſuffice for defraying the vaſt expences which I am at. However, from the proſpect of the advantages ſhewn in this clauſe, I poſtpone to them any ſtreights I may be reduced to: and notwithſtanding I proteſt to your majeſty that I raiſe money for it by way of loan, yet have I determined to ſend three carvels and two brigantines for this end; though I reckon it will coſt me above ten thouſand golden crowns: and by this ſervice, I ſhall crown the other ſervices I have performed: for I look upon it as the greateſt ſervice, if the ſtreight I mention be found: and even though it ſhould not be found, there muſt of neceſſity be diſcovered very large and rich countries, to the infinite benefit of your Imperial majeſty, and the augmentation of the kingdoms and dominions of your royal crown: and the advantage of this will be the greater, ſuppoſing the ſaid ſtreight be not found, that your highneſs will be informed that there is no ſuch thing; and meaſures may be taken by which your Imperial majeſty may reap advantage from the Spice countries

countries and all others near them. And I myſelf offer to your highneſs, if you will be pleaſed to put the affair into my hands, in the want of ſuch a ſtreight, I will point out a way by which your majeſty will reap great advantage. God grant that the ſquadron may compaſs the end for which it is deſigned, namely, to diſcover the ſtreight, which I am fully perſuaded they will do. Becauſe in the royal concerns of your majeſty, nothing can be concealed; and no diligence, or neceſſaries ſhall be wanting in me to effect it.

" Thus I think of ſending the ſhips which I have cauſed to be built, into the South ſea, that, God willing, they may by the end of July 1524, ſail downwards along the ſame coaſt, in queſt of the ſaid ſtreight. For if there be any ſuch thing, it muſt appear either to thoſe in the South ſea, or the others in the North; as thoſe on the South are to keep the coaſt in ſight, till they find the ſaid ſtreight, or that the land joins with that which was diſcovered by Magellane: and the other on the North, as I have ſaid, till they find the land joins with the Bacallaos. Thus, on one ſide or other, this important queſtion muſt be ſolved. I hereby inform your majeſty, that by the intelligence I have received of the countries, on the upper coaſt of the South ſea, the ſending of theſe

ſhips along it, will be attended with great advantage to me, and no leſs to your majeſty. But acquainted as I am with your majeſty's deſire of knowing this ſtreight, and likewiſe of the great ſervice the diſcovery of it would be to your royal crown, I have laid aſide all other profits and advantages, of which I have the moſt certain knowledge, in order to follow entirely this courſe. The Lord direct it according to his good pleaſure; and may your majeſty obtain your deſire; and likewiſe mine of ſerving you."

So far Hernan Cortes; and I would beg leave to aſk how the greateſt monarch could think otherwiſe, in a matter of the higheſt concern to his glory, treaſury, and nation? The ſame year 1524, Cortes had not only ſent the ſquadron already mentioned, under Chriſtopher de Olid; but likewiſe diſpatched two other veſſels to take a view of the coaſts from Panama to Florida, which are the preſent coaſts of Miſſiſippi or Louiſiana, in order to ſee if he could meet with another ſtreight. Yet is it not known whether in the three following years till 1527, Cortes actually put in execution on the ſide of the South ſea, his intended ſearch for the imaginary ſtreight in the iſthmus. In which falſe belief, he was ſtrengthened in the year 1523, by Pedro de Alvarado, who, in his firſt memorial, laid before

before Hernan Cortes, and ſigned at Udatan on the 11th of April 1523, has the following words; "They alſo told me that at five days journey beyond a very large city, which is twenty days journey from hence, this land terminates: and this they poſitively declare. If ſo, it is no queſtion with me but this is the ſtreight." And as little certainty is there whether he ſought the other on the north ſide, by the Coſtas de Bacallaos, or thoſe of Newfoundland and Terra del Labrador. Poſſibly he could not accompliſh his deſigns: for it was in thoſe years he made that journey to the Hibueras, ſo famous for its fatigues and hardſhips; and afterwards the diſturbances in Mexico found him ſufficient employment. It is alſo equally uncertain, whether at the time he ſent the Zacatula ſhips along the upper coaſts of the South ſea towards the North. All that Cortes affirms is this, that by the intelligence he had of thoſe countries and coaſts, they would prove very advantageous to him: and in another part of the the ſame letter, he acquaints the emperor with his preparations for the conqueſt of the province of Colina on the South ſea: and that the great men there had given him information of an iſland of Amazons, or women only, abounding in pearls and gold, lying ten days journey from Colina: adding, that ſome of the natives

had actually been there, and concluding with an assurance that he would make all possible enquiry. The island of the Amazons was as chimerical as another province on the river of the Amazons, deriving its name from them. The account of the pearls inclines me to think that these were the first intimations we had of California and its gulf.

However that be, in June 1526, Charles V. wrote to Hernan Cortes from Granada, that he should send the ships he had at Zacatula in search of the Trinity, one of Magellane's ships, and those of the two squadrons of Loaysa and Cabot; and to discover a passage from New Spain to the Moluccas, as he promised in his letters. The order came to hand, and the arrival of Hortun de Alango at Cuatlan on the South coast, having been separated with his tender from Loaysa's squadron, encouraged him to put it in execution. Accordingly he fitted out three ships under Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, who sailed from Civatlan in November 1527. The following year 1528, Cortes came into Spain, but in the mean time, Saavedra's squadron was dispersed and lost at the Moluccas.

The emperor, who was then in Spain, conferred great honours on Cortes; besides the title of marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, he nominated him captain general of New Spain, and

and of the provinces and coaſts of the South ſea: and likewiſe diſcoverer and peopler of that coaſt and the iſland, with a grant of the twelfth part of what he ſhould conquer, for himſelf and his heirs. Theſe titles and privileges were a freſh incitement to Cortes, for farther expeditions into the South ſea. But neither the emperor, nor the empreſs, who was left regent, the emperor being gone into Italy to be crowned, cared to leave things wholly to his pleaſure; ſo that in October 1529, Cortes ſigned an inſtrument which had alſo the ſignature of the empreſs, by which he obliged himſelf to ſend ſhips at his own expence, for the diſcovery of countries and iſlands in that ſea. The following year Cortes returned to New Spain, and partly from his own diſpoſition and the frequent claims of the performance of his promiſe, urged upon him by the new audience of Mexico, probably to remove him from that capital, where the preſence of that illuſtrious perſon gave great umbrage, he firſt ſet on foot the building two ſhips at Acapulco, with which Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, a near relation of Cortes, put to ſea from that part in May 1532. This expedition did not prove more fortunate than the former: one of the ſhips company mutined againſt Hurtado, and with great difficulty got back to Zaliſco; but the other in which Hurtado

ſailed, was never heard of. Cortes ordered two other ſhips to be built, in a town of his called Jehhuantepec, and to haſten the equipment of them, he went to the port in perſon. The two captains were Hernando Grijalva and Diego Becerra de Mendoza, a relation of his, and Ortun Ximenes, a Biſcayner, was appointed pilot. They ſet ſail in the year 1534, and the very firſt night they ſeparated without ever meeting again. Grijalva, after ſailing three hundred leagues came to a deſert iſland, which he called Santo Thome, and is believed to lie near the point of California; returning ſome time after to New Spain. Becerra was of a haughty cholerick diſpoſition, which, by the means of the cruelty and ferocity of the pilot, who could not bear it, proved his ruin; for Ximenes, forgetful of his ſubordination, entered into a plot with ſome other malecontents among the ſailors, murdered him whilſt he was ſleeping, and wounded others of his officers. Thus he became maſter of the ſhip: and in order to avoid Cortes's reſentment, he left on the coaſt of Xaliſco, two Franciſcans deſigned as commiſſionaries, and at their entreaties, he ſpared the wounded perſons, and thus continued his voyage in ſearch of new countries and iſlands towards the North. But he could not fly from the hand of omnipotence, for coming to that

part

part which has ſince been called Santa Cruz bay, and ſeems to be part of the inward coaſt of California, he went aſhore, and was there killed by the Indians, together with twenty other Spaniards. On this diſaſter, the ſailors carried back the ſhip to Chametla with an account, that it was a good country well peopled and had many pearl beds along the coaſt. Nunno de Guſman, who was then on the conqueſt of that country, ſeized the ſhip. He had been preſident of the audience of Mexico, and judge of reſidencia *, and a ſworn enemy to Cortes, whoſe reſolution even ſo many and great misfortunes could not ſhake, but was firmly perſuaded that the Moluccas were at no great diſtance from the weſtern coaſt; and that in the intermediate ſpace, he ſhould meet with rich iſlands and countries.

In this opinion, he was likewiſe confirmed by the certain though exaggerated account of the pearls, of which he had heard much talk ſome years before. This and the contract he had entered into with the empreſs, determined him to make one laſt attempt; and not to commit it

* Reſidencia is the tryal a governor or magiſtrate undergoes at the expiration of his employment, a judge being appointed to hear every complaint againſt him: all complainants are ſummoned to appear; and he is obliged to ſtay upon the ſpot for ſuch a time to make his defence.

to captains, but to go himſelf in perſon. He gave publick notice of his deſign, and Spaniards flocked from all parts to accompany him. He fitted out the three ſhips which he had launched at Tehuantepec, in a manner ſuitable to an enterpriſe which he was to conduct in perſon. Theſe he ſent away to Chiametla, whilſt himſelf marched for Mexico by land with a good body of ſoldiers, officers, and ſettlers with their families, together with many eccleſiaſticks and religious for the converſion of the natives; which, in all enterpriſes of this nature, ought to be the capital concern. The veſſels arrived at Chiametla, and that of Ortun Ximenes being found along ſhore empty and plundered, was again fitted up. Here Cortes embarked with all who were willing to follow him. The others on ſhore being left under the conduct of Andez de Tapia. He ſteered northward for the gulf, which from that time has been called Mar de Cortes, and is the ſame with that of California. Here they went in queſt of the part where the Indians had killed Ortun Ximenes, and ventured aſhore on the firſt of May 1526. To this place he gave the name of the bay of Santa Cruz: and by ſome it is thought to be the ſame as that now called the bay de la Paz, in the eaſtern coaſt of California; or at leaſt another on the ſame coaſt betwixt

twixt cape San Lucas and La Paz, which indeed appears moſt probable. Being landed, he ſent back the ſhips for the remainder of the people, and the ſtores and proviſions provided at Chiametla. But the fleet was ſo diſperſed by ſtorms, that only one reached the place where Cortes remained, and he had few or no ſtores. This brave man now was very much diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, the country being every where barren. However, in this exigency, his preſence of mind did not forſake him, he immediately put to ſea in this ſhip in ſearch of the others which had been diſperſed. He croſſed the ſea, ſays Gomara, which is like the Adriatick, and ran along the coaſt for the ſpace of fifty leagues through infinite dangers; but at length found his ſhips ſtranded on the coaſt. This put a ſtop to all farther ſearch, and it was not without great labour, difficulty, and danger, that he returned with relief to the bay of Santa Cruz; many had already died of famine, but more by eating to exceſs at his arrival, notwithſtanding his precautions. Cortes, that he might be no longer a ſpectator of ſuch miſeries, went on further diſcoveries, and landed in California, which is a bay.

Theſe and the above cited words of Gomara prove what we have before obſerved, that the bay of Santa Cruz, where Ortun Ximenes was killed,

killed, and where Cortes landed, is in that now called the gulf of California, and likewiſe proves that this name was properly that of a bay which Cortes diſcovered on the ſame coaſt, and perhaps that now called de la Paz, and uſed to ſignify the whole peninſula.

In the mean time, a report was ſpread through New Spain, that Cortes was dead; and he being conſidered as the only check upon the Mexican caſiques, they all meditated an inſurrection. The marchioneſs Donna Juanna de Zunniga, daughter to the count de Aginlar, and couſin to the duke de Bejan his ſecond wife, immediately diſpatched a carval to get an account of him, and ſent letters urging him to return. Soon after this, two other veſſels were ſent; one was that of Grijalva, who was returned from his expedition; the other newly built at Tehuantepec, with letters both from herſelf, the audience, and don Antonio Mendoza, the viceroy informing him of the neceſſity of his preſence in New Spain; both with regard to the quiet of the country, and ſending to Francis Pizarro the ſuccours which he ſolicited for Lima, where he was ſurrounded by innumerable troops of Indians. They entreated and even ordered him to return; which Cortes himſelf was not averſe to, being wearied out with fruitleſs efforts both by ſea and land; and now con-

vinced to his ſorrow, that diſtinguiſhed ſucceſſes by land, are not an infallible aſſurance of the like by ſea. Indeed he rejoiced at this honourable opportunity of abandoning, without any diſcredit, an enterpriſe in which his reputation was at ſtake; and returned to Acapulco in the beginning of the year 1527, leaving the people in the bay of Santa Cruz, under the command of Franciſco de Ulloa, who, ſeeing the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting, much more of making any ſettlement, was not long before he followed his commander back to Acapulco, having either ſecret inſtructions for ſo doing, or acting from his own judgment.

From Acapulco Cortes proceeded to Quahunahuac, ſince corrupted into Quarnavaca to meet his ſpouſe; from thence to Mexico to make his report to the viceroy. He immediately gave orders to ſend the required ſuccours to Pizarro, and diſpatched two ſhips under the command of Hernando Grijalva, from Acapulco to Callos with men, arms, and horſes; beſides ſeveral rich preſents in the marchioneſs's name; all which arrived very ſeaſonably for the conqueror of Peru. The multitude of enterpriſes never could embarraſs Cortes, nor was he diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of the firſt attempts, from the proſecution of thoſe, which, after mature reflection, he concluded to be

ſeaſonable

ſeaſonable and advantageous. In the ſpring of the ſame year, he had again a new expedition on foot, the account of which, as it contains many important articles relative to our deſign, and confirms ſeveral things inſerted here, we ſhall literally copy from Francis Lopez de Gomara.

" In the month of May, of the ſame year 1537, Cortes ſent three other ſhips very well provided, under Franciſco de Ulloa, who was now returned with all the others. His deſtination was to proceed along the coaſt of Culhuacan, which ſtretches to the northward. The names of theſe ſhips were, Sancta Agueda, La Trinidad, and Santo Thomas. They ſailed from Acapulco and touched at Santiago de Buena Eſperanza, for a ſupply of proviſions. From Guayabal they croſſed to California, in queſt of a ſhip, and from thence they proceeded to the Mar de Cortes, by others called Barmejo, and kept along the coaſt for above two hundred leagues, till the end of it, to which they gave the name of Ancon de San Andres, from their arriving there on the anniverſary of that ſaint. Ulloa took poſſeſſion of that country for the king of Caſtile, in the name of Fernando Cortes. Ancon lies nearly in the latitude of 32 degrees: along this coaſt are many volcanos, the mountains are quite bare, and the country extremely poor. They found here ſome traces of ſheep, namely,

namely, large, heavy, and very crooked horns. Many whales were alſo ſeen in this ſea. The hooks they uſe for fiſhing, are either of wood, fiſh bones, or the bones of turtles, of which they have great quantities and very large. The men go naked, like the Otomies of New Spain. They wear on their breaſt ſome ſhining ſhells like nakre. Their drinking veſſels are the maws of ſea wolves; though they alſo have them of clay. Proceeding from the Ancon de San Andres along the coaſt, they came to California; doubled the cape, ſtood in betwixt the continent and ſome iſlands, and proceeded till they again reached the Ancon de San Andres. This cape they called El Cabo del Engano, or cape Deceit; and the winds becoming contrary, and proviſions growing ſhort, they returned to New Spain. Thus, after a whole year's abſence, they brought no account of any country worth a ſecond viſit. Fernando Cortes imagined by that coaſt and ſea, to find another New Spain: but he performed no more than what I have mentioned, either by ſea or land, though he himſelf was preſent, and did not ſpare his perſon. He was filled with a conceit, that there were large and very rich iſlands between New Spain and the Spice iſlands. In theſe diſcoveries, according to the account he delivered in, he expended two hundred thouſand ducats;

ſending

ſending many more ſhips and men, than what he had at firſt intended; and theſe, as we ſhall hereafter relate, occaſioned his return to Spain. But never man engaged in expences with ſuch chearfulneſs and fortitude, in order to proſecute ſuch uncertain enterpriſes."

SECT. III.

Of the expeditions to CALIFORNIA to the year 1600.

The little advantage reaped by Cortes in ſuch hazardous and expenſive expeditions, ſhould naturally have cooled the ardour for new enterpriſes in the north of America, and in the Pacifick ocean: while, on the contrary, the immenſe riches, which, by the mild and wiſe government of don Antonio de Mendoza, ſeconded by the advice and authority of the marquiſs del Valle, might have ſatiated the deſires of new diſcoveries and acquiſitions, and have limited the attention of the government and private perſons, to the improvement and happineſs of that vaſt country, which Spain was now in peaceable poſſeſſion of. But as man was made in the image of God, and by him alone the heart can be filled, ſo he was never known to be perfectly contented with the poſſeſſion of any

any temporal good, or willing to abandon all further purſuits.

In the ſame year 1537, came from Mexico to Culiacan, Alvar Nunnez Cabeza de Vaca, famous for his ſingular adventures, together with his three companions, Coſtillo, Dorantes, and Eſtevanico, a negro. Of three hundred Spaniards who landed in the year 1527, with Pamfilo de Narvaez, in the country of Florida, with a deſign of making a conqueſt of it, thoſe four only ſurvived; and after wandering ten years with inconceivable hardſhips, among heatheniſh nations in the inward parts of America, they at length came to the coaſt of Culiacan, but naked and ſo altered, that they perfectly reſembled the natives, till being by their tongue known to be Spaniards, proper care was taken of them, and they were ſent to Mexico. Here every one was aſtoniſhed with the account they gave of their adventures, during ſo long and extraordinary a perambulation; and of the miracles which they ſaid God had been pleaſed by their means, to work on the ſick Indians, even ſo far as to raiſe the dead. They likewiſe affirmed what Alvar Nunnez afterwards wrote in his account to the emperor, viz. that the ſouthern coaſt abounds with pearls and other riches; and that it was the beſt part of the country thereabouts. This Alvar Nunnez Cabeza

Cabeza de Vaca, was afterwards appointed to conduct the diſcovery of the Rio de la Plata, and the firſt conqueſts of Paraguay. To this teſtimony, which received no little weight from their unparalleled wanderings, and the accounts they gave, was added another of ſtill greater force in the following year 1538. Marcos de Niza, a Franciſcan, and provincial of the new province of Santo Evangelio, being informed that a lay brother of his order had gone from Culiacan above 200 leagues northward, and paſſed through countries very well peopled, where he heard ſurpriſing accounts of other countries beyond them; he was animated with a zeal for preaching the goſpel to theſe people, and determined to viſit them in perſon. This employed him many months; and at his return he reported that he had met with very good countries, where he was informed of ſeven large towns, inhabited by civilized nations: that the ſoil afforded plenty of beaſts, grain, and fruits; and the mountains rich metals and gems: adding that not far diſtant was a remarkably large town called Quivira, with houſes ſeven ſtories high, and celebrated over all thoſe parts for its richneſs.

All Mexico was full of this novelty; nothing elſe was talked of throughout the whole city; where at that time there happened to be a great many

many perſons juſt arrived from Spain, who readily conceived, that now they ſhould find as rich an empire to conquer, as that which had rendered Cortes ſo famous. The diſcoveries made a little before in New Spain; thoſe then carrying on in Peru; the general opinion of the riches of the Eaſt Indies, which was judged to be at no great diſtance, and theſe depoſitions of the father provincial, and of the companions of Pamfilo de Narvaez, were ſo many additional motives, from which even thoſe who were by no means eaſiy of belief, could not withhold their aſſent. Cortes and the viceroy immediately determined to attempt the conqueſt of this country both by ſea and land: but it was ſoon perceived that their intentions were utterly irreconcilable; each deſigning it for himſelf, independently of the other; the one as viceroy; the other in right of his title of diſcoverer of the South-ſea, and of the compact between him and the empreſs.

The viceroy, though in other things a perſon of exemplary juſtice and magnanimity, was not ſo indifferent in point of honour, that he could calmly behold the carriage of the Spaniards and Indians towards Cortes. The latter, though he lived retired from Mexico, and diſcontented at his diſappointment in obtaining the government which he had ſolicited the emperor for, found

means to maintain his intereſt and authority without the leaſt diminution: and ſo artfully did he uſe it, that he gave umbrage to none of the eminent placemen in New Spain; and ſhewed the neceſſity of his preſence, without bringing the leaſt ſuſpicion on his conduct. The viceroy and the audience found, if not a juſt, at leaſt a favourable opportunity of ſhewing him that by the privilege of taking an account of the vaſſals granted him by the emperor, he was then dependent. Another circumſtance was the indemnification which Nuncio de Guzman, who had been formerly preſident, was condemned to make to Cortes, for which ſeveral delays were made, partly out of reſpect to his former office, but more from a declared oppoſition to Cortes, which he alone had the ſpirit publickly to maintain; there had ſome time been no good underſtanding between Cortes and the viceroy; though in the year 1538, they had been reconciled; but now their recent and ill-cemented accommodation was diſſolved. All Cortes's rights were now to be canvaſſed in courts of juſtice; and he ſaw them decided in a manner very different from that in which he had been uſed to decide the fates of kingdoms and empires, and found himſelf more embarraſſed among ſolicitors, counſellors, and attorneys, than among multitudes of enemies in Otumba

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and Mexico: and now, by a melancholy experience, he was convinced how well grounded his opinions were, when ſome years ſince he adviſed the emperor againſt ſuffering any of the long robe, from coming over to New Spain.

In the mean time the viceroy Mendoza, imagined to have before him a conqueſt in which he might acquire greater reputation and riches, than Cortes had in his: and without thoſe ſad miſtakes, in the cruel treatment of the Indians: ſo that relying too much on Cortes's patience, and his loyalty as a vaſſal, he iſſued orders for two powerful armaments; one by ſea, the other by land, in order to conquer the countries and iſlands northward of Mexico. The command of the fleet was given to captain Franciſco de Alarcon, who was to keep along the coaſt, and in the latitude of fifty two degrees, to join the land forces, according to the information of the religious. The army was headed by the viceroy in perſon, Cortes remaining in Mexico, proteſting in vain againſt the enterpriſe, and complaining that he was injured by it. However the repreſentations of the auditors, and the perplexed ſtate of the government, prevailed on the viceroy to change his mind: and accordingly he conferred the command of the land forces on Franciſco Vaſquez Coronado. This officer marched from Mexico,

at the head of one thouſand choſen men; and well provided with every thing neceſſary for a conqueſt and ſettlement: his guides were the Franciſcans; and with theſe he advanced three hundred leagues from Culiacan, by the way of Cinoloa and Valle de Sonora, till after incredible difficulties, he came to the place of his deſtination. They found ſeven towns, compoſing a province or kingdom, called Cibola, in which were only four hundred men: the largeſt, which is however of the viceroy's country, they called Granada, had two hundred houſes of earth and rough wood, but of four or five ſtories, to which they went up wooden ſtairs; and theſe in the night time were taken away. The country made a very poor appearance, at leaſt to theſe, who were prepoſſeſſed with ſuch magnificent ideas of it, though very fit for producing fruits and grains of all kinds. After ſome ſtay, they began to think of Mexico; but that they might not return empty and without making ſome attempt, don Garci Lopez de Cardena, went with his troop of horſe towards the ſea, and general Vaſquez Coronado marched to Tigue, on a river where he got intelligence of Patarrax, king of Axa and Quivira, of which countries they gave ſo pleaſing an account, that a body of Spaniards was ſent thither, being three hundred leagues further along a level country,

country, but thinly peopled. Theſe arrived at Quivira, which, according to their report, lies forty degrees in a country abounding in beaſts and fruits. But its only riches conſiſt in herds of a certain kind of black cattle, which they breed, ſerving them for food, furniture, and cloaths. Though, according to others, Vaſques, from a deſire of returning to Mexico, contrary to many others who were for ſettling there, gave a diſadvantageous account of the country. Gomara adds, that along the coaſt they ſaw ſhips with gold and ſilver gulls at their heads: and concluded that they muſt come from Cataya or China, as by the ſigns they made, they had been 30 days at ſea. At length thinned by ſickneſs, weakened by hunger, and diſcouraged by fatigues without advantage, it was determined to return to Mexico, where, after an abſence of three years, they arrived in March 1542.

Juan de Padilla and another religious, together with a Portugueſe, and ſome Indians of Mechonau remained at Tiguex; the two religious made a ſecond journey to Quivira, where they and ſome of the Indians were killed. But the Portugueſe had the good fortune to eſcape, and, after a long time, made his appearance at Panuco.

Such were the tranſactions of the land forces. In the mean time Franciſco de Alarcon put to ſea in the year 1540, with the ſhips under his command; his orders being to join Vaſquez Coronado, in the latitude of thirty-ſix degrees. He ſteered for California, and being arrived at the place appointed, he long waited to no purpoſe the coming up of the army, which he could not go in queſt of, though he had certain information that they could have joined him in ten days. The term of his inſtructions was already elapſed, ſo that ſetting up ſeveral croſſes and burying at the foot of them, bottles containing letters, in which were writ the day, month, and year of his coming, he returned to New Spain, and found in the harbour a much greater fleet, and the viceroy's major-dome. Thus ended this naval expedition, without any other remarkable circumſtance, than the diſgrace of Franciſco Alarcon, who before had been a favourite of the viceroy's, and his retreat from Mexico to Cortes's territories, where he ſoon after died of grief and chagrin.

The viceroy not only employed his authority and wealth in this attempt, which made a great noiſe till the diſcovery of the miſtake; but by a dextrous ſtroke of policy, he augmented his power and party, and deprived Hernan Cortes of his chief ſupport. At the time the governor

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and commander in chief in Guatemala, was Pedro de Alvarado, the conqueror and peopler of the fertile province by commiſſion from Cortes, whoſe fortunes he had followed from the beginning. After ſettling every thing in this country in the year 1535, he was ſent to Peru with ſeven ſhips, to aſſiſt Pizarro in the conqueſt of Quito, which in gold and riches was ſaid to exceed Cuſco. He returned from this expedition with large rewards from Pizarro and Almagro, who were better pleaſed with his departure than his aſſiſtance, on account of his overbearing temper. This money, with that which he raiſed in his province, by a cruel oppreſſion of the Indians, put him upon higher thoughts; and as the ſacred ties of gratitude and friendſhip were of little account with him, and conſequently he was not to be reſtrained by the ſenſe of any reſpect to Hernan Cortes as his chief, he formed the deſign of clandeſtinely rivaling him in the diſcoveries of the South ſea. In order to this, he aſked a commiſſion from the emperor, who being every day more ſolicitous about this diſcovery, and not without ſome ſuſpicion of Cortes, whom his competitors accuſed of remiſſneſs in performing the contract, which gave an appearance of guilt to his misfortunes, eaſily granted it. But with a clauſe in no manner to moleſt the poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe.

tugueſe. On receiving this commiſſion, Alvarado prepared an armament in his province, beyond any which had appeared in thoſe ſeas under Cortes. He ordered twelve ſhips, a galley, and ſome ſmaller veſſels to be built; and provided them well with men, horſes, artillery, arms, and proviſions. The expence of fitting out this fleet was ſo large, that beſides the greateſt part of his ſubſtance, and what could be raiſed in his province, he was obliged to apply to ſome of his friends to aſſiſt him with money. His deſign was to ſail to India and the Spice iſlands, making diſcoveries along California and Punta de Vallenas, according to the ſcheme of his former commander. Having taken upon himſelf the ſtile of general of his armada, he brought his ſhips in 1538 to la Purification, where he was to take in water, proviſions, and men. All this was known to the viceroy, who being a declared enemy, concluded that Alvarado would, without much difficulty, relinguiſh his ancient patron. He likewiſe, on the other hand, foreſaw how greatly it concerned him to bring Alvarado over to his intereſt, as likewiſe the dangerous conſequences that muſt follow from his union with Cortes. He therefore ſent him a letter by expreſs, to the place of rendezvous: and his forwardneſs to conclude an aſſociation, even exceeded the viceroy's

viceroy's expectation, when, in order to finish it without delay, he sent his major domo Augustine Guerrero and don Lewis de Castilla. And during this congress, Francisco de Alarcon came into Pacificacion harbour, from his expedition to Cibola, as I have before observed.

In order to put a finishing hand to the contract, it was agreed that the viceroy and Alvarado should have a meeting at Chinibitio, a town of Mechoacan. Accordingly, the viceroy went post thither from Mexico. The conferences being ended, they went together to see the armada; and from thence they returned to Mexico, to appoint a commander in chief of the whole fleet; an essential point, but in which they did not agree, each being for putting in a creature of their own. Alarcon was called away to Guatemala, on important affairs relating to the province, and the necessity of making the least dispositions for the enterprise. These preparatives took up a long time; during which, every person expressed his abhorrence of Alvarado's proceedings against Cortes, to whom he was indebted for every thing he enjoyed. This also increased the rancour between the viceroy and Cortes, to the most indecent extremities: and the latter finding there was no redress, to be expected in New Spain, resolved to make a second voyage to Europe, in order to seek it from

from the juſtice and goodneſs of the emperor. Accordingly he embarked for Spain, with his two ſons in the year 1540; attended the emperor in the unfortunate expedition to Algiers; and after ſeven years ſpent in the idle buſtle of the court, and anxiety for the diſpatch of his affairs, which were deſignedly prolonged in order to hinder his return, he at length died on the 2d of December 1547, in a manner becoming a chriſtian, at Caſtilleja de la Cueſta, as he was going to meet his daughter at Cadiz. He was a man truly worthy of immortal reputation, and not inferior to the moſt celebrated heroes. The few failings he had, are hid by the luſtre of his many virtues, political, military, and chriſtian; eſpecially his moſt ardent zeal for the propagation of religion. If at the time of the conqueſt the Indians were treated with an unwarrantable ſeverity, he may in ſome meaſure be diſculpated by neceſſity, and the fury of his ſoldiers, which officers often find too difficult to be reſtrained. But when he acted of himſelf, the goodneſs of his heart was always conſpicuous: and if in the abovementioned particular, and the ſlaughter of the great men of Mexico, at the battle of the Hibueras, he is not to be vindicated, yet let us hope that Omnipotence, the juſt avenger of the weak, was pleaſed to humble him here, by depriving him during the remainder

mainder of his life, of that ſucceſs which hitherto had always attented him; and that he ſhould cloſe his life in a chaos of troubles and diſappointments.

Cortes being now abſent, Pedro Alvarado haſtened the diſpoſitions for his enterpriſe with leſs reſerve. Gautemala was the ſcene of his preparatives; and when they were finiſhed, he went by laud to Pueto de Navidad, in order to embark and take upon him the command of his fleet. Here he received letters from Chriſtopher de Onate, deputy governor of Xaliſco, under Vaſquez Coronado, who was then at Cibola, informing him that he was ſurrounded by the Indians; and that unleſs he ſpeedily came to his relief, he and his people muſt abſolutely periſh. It highly concerned the enterpriſe, that the harbours of Xaliſco ſhould be ſafe; it was alſo proper to ſhew this regard to the governor, who was abſent on ſuch important ſervices; and much more to the viceroy that had ſent him, that Alvarado getting together what horſes, arms, and men he could, haſtened to the relief of Onate; and came juſt time enough to ſave him. However, the Indians continued the war with intrepid animoſity, and ſome of them having poſted themſelves among ſteep rocks, Alvarado, with a detachment of horſe and foot, attempted to diſlodge them. The

Spaniards

Spaniards began to march up the eminence, Alvarado encouraging them by his example. But the Indians rolling down large pieces of rock, deſtroyed ſeveral of our men; and ſome of the horſes, by the ſteepneſs of the ground, fell down the precipices. One of theſe fragments happened to tumble againſt Alvarado himſelf, who, being famous for his agility, had alighted in order to ſhun the danger, but the rock ſtriking his horſe, threw him upon his maſter, ſo that both rolled down among the rocks; by which he was ſo bruiſed, that he died in four days after at Ezatlan, ten leagues from Guadalaxara, and three hundred from Guatemala, in the year 1541. Such was the unfortunate end of Pedro Alvarado, an excellent warrior, but according to ſome not ſo good a governor; proſperous during his whole life, and unfortunate in his death; more ambitious of ſway however, than of ſolid praiſe; bold and licentious in his diſcourſe; but his true principle was intereſt. He ſo cruelly oppreſſed the Indians, that his misfortunes and thoſe of his family have been conſidered as the conſequence of ſuch a conduct. In September of the ſame year, the city of Santiago de Guatemala was deſtroyed by a tempeſt and inundation, in which was drowned his lady donna Beatriz de la Cueva, whoſe character Dias del Caſtillo vindicates

dicates againſt the cenſures of others. He had two ſons, one of which, don Pedro, was drowned in his return to Spain, and don Diego killed in a rencounter in Peru. Theſe three brothers were alſo equally unfortunate, and all, who, like him, had commanded in the conqueſt of thoſe countries.

The great fleet was now ready to ſail: but like a body without a head, came to nothing, the ſhips being forſaken, rotted in the harbours. Such was the end of an expedition, which, for ſo long a time had held in ſuſpence, and even alarmed the new world.

The viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza was extremely concerned at the cataſtrophe of Alvarada and the loſs of his armado, which was out of his power to repair: the expences of his two expeditions by land and ſea, being ſtill a great incumbrance upon him. He was however ſtill more affected at the return of Vaſquez Coronado without any advantage. This happened, as we have already obſerved, in the beginning of the following year 1542. Though he was of a ſpirit too noble to be thrown into deſpair by the firſt miſcarriages in the proſecution of deſigns, which he thought uſeful and glorious; and he had very much at heart the propagation of the faith, and the preaching of the goſpel to other nations. It was likewiſe his

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firm perſuaſion, that trade and conqueſts on that ſide of the South ſea, and in the eaſtern part of the Indies, without meddling with the Molucas, would be productive of immenſe advantages to the ſtate. He thought, that great as the difficulties were, they might be overcome, but he was unfortunately deprived of adding to the excellent regulations of his peaceable adminiſtration, the fruits of which are certain and ſubſtantial, ſome ſignal action which might be ranked with the achievements of other perſonages of the noble houſe of Mendoza, at that time more than ever fruitful in perſons diſtinguiſhed for arts and arms. Thus, notwithſtanding his arrears, and griefs which affected his mind, he heroically determined that ſame year 1542 to execute three enterpriſes of equal glory and advantage. The firſt was to go in perſon to reduce the Indians of Xaliſco and New Galicia, whom Alvarado's death had ſpirited up to a revolt; and the quelling of whom was the more neceſſary, as it was only through that province, that the intended conqueſt towards the North could be carried into execution. The ſecond was to ſend ſhips for ſurveying the outward or weſtern of California and America. The third to ſend other ſhips for diſcovering, and making a ſettlement in the iſlands, then called De Poniente or weſtern; and

and ſince the Marianas and Philippines, as lying much nearer America than the Moluccas.

In the firſt enterpriſe he was attended by the greateſt part of all the nobility of New Spain; and by his courage, prudence, and mildneſs, the tranquillity of the whole country was in a little time reſtored. For the ſecond and third, ſuch ſhips of Alvarado's unfortunate fleet as had received any damage were repaired. Two of theſe he ſent under the command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portugueſe of great courage and honour, and a thorough ſeaman, to execute the ſecond enterpriſe. And the 5 others compoſed a fleet, which he gave Ruy-Lopez de Villa Lobos, a native of Malaga; being a nobleman by birth, and poſſeſſed of talents equal to the intention of this undertaking, which was to diſcover the Philippine iſlands. He put to ſea after the Portugueſe, on All ſaints day, from the harbour de Navidad; and ſteering directly Weſt, fell in with the Ladrones; proceeding from thence to Leyle Mindanao and others, which compoſe the Philippine Archipelago. But the concluſion was not anſwerable; ſeveral misfortunes attended him, and after loſing moſt of his ſhips, and being deſtitute of aſſiſtance, he was obliged to put in at the Moluccas. Here he met with ſuch indifferent reception from the Portugueſe, ſettled at

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Terrenate and Tidore, that he died of grief at Amboyna, in the year 1546. The religious, together with a few laymen, the diſtreſſed remains of this expedition, obtained from the Portugueſe, the favour of returning to Spain by way of Malacca, Goa, and the Cape of Good Hope.

No other expedition to theſe iſlands was undertaken till the year 1564, when Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, accompanied by the celebrated religious Andres de Urdaneta, in the time of the ſecond viceroy Don Luis de Velaſco had better ſucceſs, and made a ſettlement in the Philippines.

Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, ſailed with his two ſhips from the ſame port de Navidad, the 27th of June, on a diſcovery of the coaſt towards the North. He touched at the bay of Santa Cruz in California, otherwiſe called Puerto del Marques del Valle, ſince Cortes had been there: this he found in 24 degrees of latitude; and following the weſtern coaſt, he came to a bay, to which he gave the name of La Magdalena, lying in 27 degrees, and in 32 degrees, he made cape del Engano; that of la Cruz in 33, and that of de la Galera in 36 and a half; and oppoſite the laſt he met with two large iſlands, 10 leagues from the coaſt, where they informed him, that at ſome diſtance there was a nation

nation which wore cloaths: in 37 degrees and a half, he had ſight of ſome hills covered with trees, which he called San Martin, as he did alſo the cape running into the ſea at the end of theſe eminences. Beyond this to 40 degrees, the coaſt lies N. E. and S. W. and about the 40th degree he ſaw ſome mountains covered with ſnow; and betwixt them a large cape, which, in honour to the viceroy, who had ſent him, he called de Mendoza or Mendozino; and near it a ſpacious bay to which he gave the name of de Pinos, from the multitude of pine trees of an extraordinary height growing near it. In January 1543, he arrived at Cabo de Fortuna in 41 degrees, and on the 10th of March, found himſelf in 44 degrees lat. the cold very intenſe. This was the utmoſt limits of his voyage, the want of proviſions, and the bad condition of his ſhips, not admitting him to make any farther progreſs: ſo that he returned, and, on Saturday the 14th of April, entered Navidad harbour, giving it as his opinion, that ſuch an enterpriſe required ſhips of a greater ſtrength and burden, with the beſt ſails and rigging, and well ſtored with proviſions; it being very difficult to obtain a ſupply.

I have been the more particular in deſcribing the ſituation and names of the principal parts

ſurveyed in this voyage, in order to compare it with other diſcoveries, eſpecially as ſeveral authors, either omit or confound this expedition, which was the laſt undertaken by this excellent viceroy, in the north of the Pacifick ſea.

In the year 1551, don Antonio de Mendoza, to the inexpreſſible grief of the Spaniards and Indians, was preferred from the viceroyalty of Mexico, to that of Peru; and his abſence, for ſeveral years, ſuſpended all further enterpriſes towards California. Only the viceroy don Luis de Velaſco, being deſirous of providing a good harbour on the weſtern coaſt for the Philippine ſhips, ſent a veſſel called the San Auguſtin, which ſoon returned without having done any thing.

In the year 1596, don Gaſpar de Zunniga, count de Monte-rey, viceroy of Mexico, received an order from Philip II. for diſcovering and making ſettlements in proper parts of California; the Engliſh, at that time taking advantage of our remiſſneſs, had began to claim the ſovereignty of the ſea. The famous ſir Francis Drake, among other things, had ſtruck the inhabitants of the coaſts of the South ſea with conſternation; and even made a ſettlement on California, to which he gave the name of New Albion, as belonging to the crown of England: in this he was followed by more of

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his countrymen, particularly Thomas Cavendiſh and others, who fortifying themſelves on that coaſt, moleſted our navigation to the Philippine iſlands. On the other hand there was then much talk about the ſtreight of Anian, through which the South-ſea was ſaid to communicate with that of the North, near Newfoundland; and ſhould the Engliſh find out a practicable paſſage on that ſide, our dominions, which then included all Portugueſe India, would be no longer ſecure, all the coaſt from Acapulco to Culiacan, being quite defenceleſs, and from Culiacan northward, not one ſingle ſettlement was made on the whole coaſt. Beſides the report of the rich pearls in thoſe ſeas, was far from being extinguiſhed. But the great conſideration, which chiefly prompted the heart of that religious monarch, was the propagation of the goſpel, and his compaſſion for ſo many millions of ſouls immerſed for want of preachers in the darkneſs of infidelity, and which the apoſtolick ſee had earneſtly recommended to his pious compaſſion.

The court gave the conduct of this expedition to general Sebaſtian Viſcaino, a man of undoubted courage and prudence. He was not only a good ſoldier, but alſo well verſed in ſea affairs; and his affability and mildneſs, particularly qualified him for the direction of an

enterprise, usually attended with many disagreeable circumstances to the ship's company, who immediately impute any sufferings to the commander. The necessary dispositions being made, general Viscaino sailed from Acapulco in three well provided ships, on board of which were four Franciscan regulars. His first passage was to the islands of Mazatlan and port San Sebastian, where they watered: from thence crossing the gulf, which they found to be 80 leagues in breadth, they landed on the eastern coast of California without any resistance from the Indians, though they came down to the shore in great numbers. But the country not pleasing them, they went to another harbour, which they called San Sebastian, where they hoisted the royal standard, as a sign that they took possession of it in the king's name. Here they staid eight days, during which time some soldiers were sent up to reconnoitre the country; and were so far from being molested by the natives, that they came down to the shore with game and fruit, their only subsistence, and pearls for traffick. The general did not, however, judge it a place proper for making a settlement, on account of it having no water, and the barrenness of the soil. The commodore's ship was therefore sent further to look out for a more convenient place, and they all removed

removed to that which ſince has been called de la Paz, on account of the peaceable behaviour of the Indians in that bay. Here they eſtabliſhed a garriſon within a palliſade. They likewiſe run up a ſmall church, and ſome huts with branches of trees, as the rude beginning of that ſettlement they intended for the capital of this acquiſition. The natives with great ſimplicity and candor, came to the garriſon with their fruits, fiſh, and likewiſe brought with them ſome pearls. And the religious immediately applied themſelves to gain their affections, and explained to them, in the beſt manner they were capable, the myſteries of the chriſtian religion. They diſtributed many ſmall preſents to the children, of which there were great numbers among them, and theſe with other endearments, greatly tended to gain the love of the inhabitants. They uſed to complain to the religious of the injuries done them by the ſoldiers, who, beſides other outrages, forcibly took away from them any thing they had, an evil too common in ſuch diſcoveries; but in ſeveral reſpects, of very bad conſequences. They aſked the fathers, whether they were ſons of the ſun, looking on them as deities; and entreated them to ſtay among them, and order the ſoldiers away, as being cruel and wicked. At maſs they were filled with admiration at the

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ſacred ceremony. They ſhewed a ready compliance to all the injunctions of the religious: and their whole behaviour ſufficiently ſhewed them to be an humane docile people; and well diſpoſed to embrace the chriſtian faith. But the general was not long in perceiving, that the ſoil produced ſo very little, that it would not ſupport ſo large a number of men. On this account, and that he might fully diſcharge his commiſſion for the diſcovery, he ſent the commodore and a tender to take a view of the coaſts and iſlands further to the northward. Thoſe that went in theſe ſhips landed on ſeeing any people; and if they were received peaceably, they ſurveyed the country, drawn up in order of battle. If any oppoſition was offered, they returned and continued their courſe. Thus they coaſted above 100 leagues. In the moſt northern part of the country to which they came, 50 ſoldiers were ſent aſhore to reconnoitre; and ſeeing it was no better than thoſe they had before viewed, were returning on board. At this the Indians became ſo ſpirited as to ſhoot ſeveral arrows at them; and the Spaniards on the other ſide faced about, and fired upon them, wounded ſome, and killed three or four, upon which the others fled. The ſoldiers, however, haſtened to the boat, in order to go on board the ſhip, which, for want of water, lay one-

one-fourth of a league diſtant from the ſhore. As the boat would not hold above 25, the like number were obliged to remain, till it returned to fetch them off. In the mean time near 500 Indians had artfully concealed themſelves, till an opportunity offered of doing effectual execution. The boat returned; and whilſt they were getting into it confuſedly, without any apprehenſion, the Indians with a ſhout ſallied from their ambuſcade, the boat in the hurry, this occaſioned, was overſet, that our people falling into the water, their fire arms were of no uſe. Thus nineteen Spaniards miſerably periſhed, being drowned or killed by the Indians, through an inability of defending themſelves. And it was equally impoſſible for thoſe on board, however concerned at their misfortune, to give them any aſſiſtance: a few however reached the ſhip by ſwimming. It had before been deliberated about returning, for want of proviſions; with a greater quantity of which, they might have reconnoitred the fartheſt parts of the gulf. But this misfortune determined them to return to the garriſon, which they with extreme dejection reached, after having kept the ſea a month. General Viſcaino was there, but ſo diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, that he had ſcarce maize enough to ſubſiſt them, during the paſſage to the continent. And as they found no

place on the coaſt, where they could get a ſupply, it was reſolved in a council of war, entirely to relinquiſh the conqueſt, without leaving in the country any ſettlers: and accordingly they returned to New Spain, at the end of the ſame year 1596.

An account of the iſſue of this expedition was ſent to court, and arrived ſoon after Philip III. had aſcended the throne, on the death of his father Philip II, which happened on the twenty-third of September 1598.

SECT. IV.

A remarkable warrant of Philip III, and other expeditions to CALIFORNIA, till the reign of Philip IV.

The political motives, which induced Philip II. to order the conqueſt of California to be undertaken with all poſſible expedition, ſtill exiſted at the acceſſion of Philip III, and became every day more and more urgent. The new king likewiſe inherited all the religion and zeal of his father; and conſequently was eaſily impreſſed by the noble motives of propagating the faith. Another reaſon was, the ſecurity of the navigation, undertaken to the Philippines: for the ſhips, in return from thoſe iſlands to New Spain, always came within ſight of cape Mendozina; and

and the violence of the north weſt winds in that part, rendered it neceſſary to have ſome ſhelter near that cape, where they might ſafely land for refreſhment and water; for want of which, many ſhips had been loſt: and thoſe who had arrived at Acapulco, were in a miſerable condition. Accordingly on the twenty-ſeventh of September 1599, an order was ſent to the count de Monte-rey, that out of the royal revenue, a new diſcovery and ſettlement in California, ſhould be undertaken with all poſſible vigour: but inſtead of the eaſtern coaſt of the gulf, the weſtern coaſt of the South ſea ſhould be ſurveyed. The viceroy, after maturely weighing every circumſtance, to ſecure the ſucceſs of an attempt, which, from repeated miſcarriages, during the courſe of the whole preceding century, had an appearance of extreme difficulty, appointed for commander in chief, the ſame Sebaſtian Viſcaino, who had commanded in the late expedition, and from his zeal for the royal commands, neglected nothing which might contribute to the ſecurity and advantage of the enterpriſe. On the fifth of May 1632, general Viſcaino ſailed from Acapulco harbour with two ſhips, a frigate and a barco longo, and with him three bare footed Carmelites, one of whom, Antonio de la Aſcenſion, wrote a particular account of the expedition, an extract from which, by Torquemada,

I have inſerted in at the end of this work. In the mean time it will be ſufficient to read the ſuccinct, though entertaining narrative, contained in the royal ſchedule, which I ſhall now tranſcribe; from whence it is evident, that he took an accurate view of the coaſt, as far as cape Mendozina in forty degrees. And even reconnoitred cape Blanco de San Sebaſtian, in forty-one degrees and a half. Before he came to theſe places, he ſaw a large harbour near the Punto de Pinos, or Pine-cape, provided with every thing that could be deſired, for the ſecurity and repair of ſhips: and which, in honour of the viceroy, by whom he had been ſent, he called Puerto de Monte-rey. However, finding the impoſſibility of making any longer ſtay on that coaſt, they returned to New Spain, arriving at Acapulco in March 1603.

The fatigues, diſtreſſes, ſickneſſes, and dangers of this voyage were ſufficient to diſcourage the moſt reſolute. However, general Viſcaino, inured to hardſhips, and in expectation of obtaining both glory and advantage in making the conqueſt, ſtrongly ſollicited the viceroy that he might make a freſh attempt at his own expence; but rightly judging that nothing of that kind muſt be undertaken, without the permiſſion of his majeſty, who had taken it into his own hand, Viſcaino made a voyage into Spain,

Spain, to ſollicit the affair at court. Here in his memorial, he ſet forth the great advantage of the expedition, in very lively colours. The ſupreme council of the Indies, however warned by the little effect of the two preceding attempts, in which very large ſums of the royal revenue had been expended, without any benefit, deferred coming to a reſolution, till they had received freſh informations, proceeding ſtep by ſtep in a matter reputed of ſo great conſequence. Thus general Viſcaino, who had a capacity and courage, which carried him with honour, through all the difficulties and dangers of war, both by ſea and land, could not make his way through the fickleneſs, intrigues, and traverſes of the court; ſo that he left it full of diſcontent, and returning to New Spain, ſpent the remainder of his life in quiet and retirement. However, the conſequence ſoon juſtified the ſlowneſs which had preceded the reſolution: for ſcarce had the general left Spain, when, on the nineteenth of Auguſt 1606, the king ſigned two commiſſions, directed to don Juan de Mendoza, and Luna marquiſs of Montes Claros, recently made viceroy of New Spain, and don Pedro de Acunna, governor and captain general of the Philippine iſlands, drawn up with ſuch prudence, and filled with ſuch ſagacious remarks on the importance and diſpoſition neceſ-

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fary to the ſucceſs of the deſign, as render them worthy of being laid before the publick, eſpecially as they confirm what I have related; I ſhall therefore here inſert an exact copy of that ſent to don Pedro de Acunna.

By the KING.

Don Pedro de Acunna, knight of the order of St. John, my governor and captain general of the Philippine iſlands, and preſident of my royal audience there: you are hereby given to underſtand, that don Luis de Velaſco, my late viceroy in New Spain, in regard to the great diſtance between the port of Acapulco and thoſe iſlands, the fatigue, hardſhip, and danger of that voyage, for want of a port where the ſhips might put in, and provide themſelves with water, wood, maſts, and other things of abſolute neceſſity, determined to make a diſcovery and draughts, with obſervations of the harbours along the coaſt, from New Spain to theſe iſlands; and ordered this ſervice to be performed in a ſhip called the San Auguſtin, the loſs of which, at that time, fruſtrated the ſaid diſcovery: and that the count de Monte-rey, who ſucceeded him in that government; having the ſame opinion of the inconveniences of that voyage, and the ſame zeal for

for removing them, by purſuing the diſcovery, intended by don Luis de Velaſco, wrote to me concerning it; and was of opinion, that ſmall veſſels from the harbour of Acapulco, were the fitteſt; and, that in the diſcovery might be included the coaſts and bays of the gulf of California, and of the fiſhery; to which, in my letter of the twenty-ſeventh of September 1599, I ordered to be anſwered, that the diſcovery and making draughts, with obſervations of that coaſt and the bays along it, having appeared to me highly convenient, it was my will he ſhould immediately put it in execution, without troubling himſelf about that of California, unleſs occaſionally. Agreeably to this, he appointed for the conduct of the enterpriſe, Sebaſtian Viſcaino as an experienced navigator, particularly acquainted with the voyage in queſtion, and, in whom, he placed an entire confidence: and having furniſhed him with two ſhips and a tender, well provided with all neceſſaries for a year, he immediately embarked with a ſuitable number of ſeamen and ſoldiers; and an able coſmographer ſkilled in maps, in order that the parts and places diſcovered, might be ſet down with the greater clearneſs and accuracy: having with him orders and inſtructions how he was to proceed, and what he was to do, he put to ſea from Acapulco harbour, on the fifth of May 1602,

1602, according to the advice ſent me by the ſaid count de Monte-rey and Sebaſtian Viſcaino, who, after ſeveral letters, the laſt of which was on the laſt day of April 1604, informed me that he had been eleven months on the voyage: and that from the ſaid harbour he had began to ſound and take draughts of the coaſts, harbours, creeks, and bays, as far as the twenty-ſeventh degree, with all neceſſary preciſion and exactneſs: and that from twenty-ſix degrees to forty-two, he did no more than keep within ſight of land, ſo that he was not able to make ſuch particular obſervations, as he had done till the twenty-ſeventh degree. Soon after, many of his people fell ſick, and the weather being very unfavourable, he could only obſerve that the coaſt, as far as forty degrees, lies north weſt, and ſouth eaſt; and that in the other two degrees, which make up the forty-two, it lies almoſt north and ſouth. He added that between the mouth of the gulf of California, to 37 degrees, he met with three very good harbours, on the continent: theſe are San Diego in thirty-two degrees, with another contiguous to it, but ſmaller; and that of San Diego, which is very ſpacious, being capable of containing many ſhips, and, at the ſame time afford both water and wood: and that the third, called Monte-rey, was ſtill better, and more convenient for

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the China galleons, and for the relief of ſhips in their voyage to and from theſe iſlands. It is ſituated in 37 degrees north latitude; and its wood and water preferable, and in greater plenty than the other; is well ſheltered from all winds, and along its ſhore are great numbers of pine trees fit for maſts, and lies very conveniently for ſhips returning from the Philippine iſlands to put into; and thus, in caſe of ſtorms, avoid the neceſſity of making for Japan, as they have ſeveral times done, and expended great ſums of money. Beſides they uſually have ſight of the coaſt of China, which is an additional benefit, as by knowing where they are, they will not as formerly, in caſe of bad weather, make for Japan or thoſe iſlands, as the ſame winds which would carry them thither, bring them into this ſafe harbour. They further ſay, that the climate is mild, and the country covered with trees, the ſoil fruitful and well peopled, and that the natives are of ſo tractable, kind, and of ſo docile a temper, that they will eaſily be converted to the chriſtian religion, and become ſubject to my holy crown. That their chief ſubſiſtence is on the ſpontaneous products of the earth, and the fleſh they catch in hunting, of which there is a remarkable plenty. That their cloathing is of the ſkins of ſea wolves, which they have a very

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good method of tanning and preparing; and that they have abundance of flax, hemp, and cotton: And that the ſaid Sebaſtian Viſcaino, carefully informed himſelf of theſe Indians, and many others whom he diſcovered along the coaſt for above 800 leagues, and they all told him, that up the country there were large towns, ſilver, and gold; whence he is inclined to believe that great riches may be diſcovered, eſpecially as in ſome parts of the land veins of metals are to be ſeen; and that the time of their ſummer being known, a farther diſcovery might be made of them by going within the country, and that the remainder of it may be diſcovered along the coaſt, as it reaches beyond 42 degrees, the limits ſpecified to the ſaid Sebaſtian Viſcaino in his inſtructions; he came to Japan and the coaſt of China, and that he could not return by the mouth of California, as I had ſent orders he ſhould be directed, on account of a great mortality among his people, and the decay of the proviſions which obliged him to haſten his return. And the coſmographer Andrew Garcia de Ceſpedes, having made his appearance in my royal council of the Indies, together with the narratives and draughts which were ſent with a ſeparate plan of each harbour, of thoſe diſcovered by the ſaid Sebaſtian Viſcaino; and having

ing in council heard the report of the cosmographer, and considering how much it concerns the security of ships coming from those islands, in a voyage of no less than 2000 leagues, on a wide and tempestuous sea, that they should be provided with a port where they might put in and furnish themselves with water, wood, and provisions: that the said port of Monte-rey, lies in 37 degrees, nearly about half way the voyage, having all the good qualities which could be desired; it seems to me that all ships coming from those islands, as they make that coast, should put into this port, and there refit and provide themselves: and in order to the beginning a design of such utility, and that it may be publickly known, I have by another commission of the same date, ordered and directed the marquis de Montes Claros, my present viceroy of the said provinces of New Spain, that he use all possible care and diligence to find out the said general Sebastian Viscaino, as the person who made the said discovery, having coasted it all along from Acapulco to cape Mendozino. And in case he be not living, to make the like enquiry after the commander of his ship, and that on his being found, he immediately prepare to go to these islands, taking care to carry with him his chief pilot, and that of the said commander. And that his going

on this desirable service may be with all convenient dispatch; I have also ordered the said marquis, that the ships which are to be sent to these islands be of the usual form hitherto used, there being little appearance that you have any ships ready of 200 tons, as they are to be agreeable to a new order which I have issued relating to them, on account of the shortness of time, and which nominates, as commander of those ships, Sebastian Viscaino, and for his captain, he who was with him at the discovery of the said port, if they are both living: and in case either of them be dead, the survivor to be commander in chief; and for first pilot, the person who was in that post under Sebastian Viscaino, or under his captain, in order that having the ships under their charge, they may at their return consider the best manner of making a settlement at the said Puerto de Monterey: and thus introduce the touching at that port, and carefully instruct the pilots and sailors on the necessary particulars of the voyage; especially two persons well qualified, whom you are hereby ordered to send from these islands, with the said general Viscaino, that they may be acquainted with the said port, and may return general and commander of the ships, which are to go from Acapulco to those islands in the year 1608; Sebastian Viscaino being to conduct

conduct the ſettlement of the ſaid port, to whom, and the ſaid Sebaſtian Viſcaino and his ſea captain, it is my will and pleaſure that you in all things ſhow all poſſible countenance and regard. It is alſo my will, that they receive the pay which other generals and commanders have received in the ſaid voyage: and that it be paid them in the uſual form and manner. And that the premiſes may obtain the end deſired, I charge you to aid and aſſiſt them with the utmoſt care and diligence, as I promiſe myſelf from your prudence and zeal: and that you acquaint me with what ſhall be performed. Dated at San Lorenzo L. Real, on the 19th of Auguſt, 1606.

This royal commiſſion places in a full light the ſenſe of the ſupreme council of the Indies, the king of Spain and his miniſtry, with regard to the importance and means of ſettling a colony on the weſtern coaſt of California, by peopling Puerto de Monte-rey. But theſe wiſe meaſures came to nothing, the royal ſchedule not taking effect; for the viceroy, in obedience to the royal command, made enquiry after general Sebaſtian Viſcaino, who was very readily found; but while he was preparing with great alacrity to accompliſh an enterpriſe, the great advantages of which were but imperfectly known till verified by time and experience; he

was ſeized with a fatal diſtemper, and with him were buried the well grounded hopes of the expedition: why ſuch poſitive and expreſs orders of the king were not carried into execution, though the general was dead, remains a myſtery; we only know, that nothing was then done, nor has been done, of what was at that time ſo well concerted, and in which, the dictates of wiſdom and long deliberation were enforced by the power of majeſty.

During the ſucceeding nine years, inconſiderable voyages only were made to California, and theſe rather to fiſh for pearls, or procure them by barter, than to make any ſettlement, and therefore they have been thought below any ſeparate account, eſpecially as in the ſubſequent royal commiſſions they are only mentioned in general without any circumſtances. At length, in the year 1615, captain Juan Iturbi, obtained a licence for making a new voyage at his own expence. One of his two ſhips was taken by a ſet of European pirates, who made themſelves famous in America, under the name of Pichilingues, and to the great diſhonour of the Spaniſh power infeſted the South-ſeas, till their inſolencies clearly proved the neceſſity of reducing California, as they there ſecurely ſheltered themſelves: with his other ſhip Iturbi entered the bay of California;

and proceeded to the height of 30 degrees, where he obſerved that the two coaſts of Cinaloa and California gradually approached each other. But the N. W. winds, and the ſhortneſs of proviſions, hindered him from going any farther. He therefore thought proper to return; but was ſo diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, that he and his company muſt inevitably have periſhed, without the almoſt miraculous relief he met with in the village of Ahomé in Cinaloa; by means of the miſſionary father Andres Perez de Ribas, provincial of the jeſuits in New Spain, who ſeveral years afterwards wrote an account of this expedition. From Ahomé he directed his courſe to Cinaloa, where he received orders from the viceroy don Diego Fernandes de Cordova, marquis of Guadal-caſar, to make the beſt of his way to meet and convoy the ſhip from the Philippine iſlands, which it was greatly feared would fall into the hands of the Dutch corſairs, who then openly infeſted thoſe ſeas under their own colours, and ſoon after made themſelves maſters of the greateſt part of the trade to the Eaſt Indies.

Iturbi accordingly ſailed from the gulf into the South-ſea, and brought the ſhip which occaſioned ſo much anxiety, ſafe into Acapulco: from thence he went to Mexico, where

the pearls he brought with him filled the whole city with admiration. He had a great number of them, the moſt were of a brown tinct, occaſioned by the Indians, as we have already obſerved, putting the ſhells into the fire, in order to dreſs the fleſh of the oyſters. Others he had of a larger ſort, and without any damage, which were taken up by his own divers; and ſo large and clear, that for one only, he paid, as the king's fifth, 900 crowns.

Theſe pearls animated the Mexicans to attempt the conqueſt and ſettlement of California: a great many private perſons, from the coaſts of Culiacan and Chametla, made trips in ſmall boats to the coaſt of California, either to fiſh for pearls, or purchaſe them of the Indians. And ſeveral acts of cruelty and outrage, were committed on theſe poor people; which however did not always eſcape puniſhment. A few adventurers enriched themſelves by this trade: and there are very ſurpriſing accounts of the wealth accumulated by Antonio del Caſtillo, an inhabitant of Chametla; which naturally increaſed the univerſal impatience for making the conqueſt. In the year 1628, Philip IV. being king of Spain, captain Antonio Baſtan came over to Spain for a licence, offering to undertake it at his own expence. The ſupreme council of the Indies, by a ſchedule of the 2d

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of Auguſt of the ſame year, required the marquiſs de Cerralvo their viceroy, to ſend them farther informations. The viceroy and council appointed don Juan Alvarez, auditor of the royal audience, to collect proper accounts, and under pretence of greater certainty, and a more particular detail, obtained a licence from the viceroy, for captain Francis de Ortega, to make a voyage thither at his own expence; and he was either more fortunate or ſkilful than his predeceſſors. He ſailed in March 1632, in a veſſel of ſeventy tons, having with him Diego de la Nava, a prieſt whom the biſhop of Guadalaxara had nominated vicar of California. He landed on the ſecond of May, and having taken a particular ſurvey of the whole coaſt, from San Barnabe's bay, to Puerto de la Paz, purchaſed many pearls, and found the Indians generally very friendly and tractable, except in ſome parts, where they had been injured by thoſe who had come thither to trade for pearls. In June they returned to the coaſt of Cinaloa, whence they proceeded to lay the whole voyage before the viceroy.

Captain Ortega very probably had found his account in this voyage, as by permiſſion from the viceroy, he made two other trips thither, in the years 33 and 34, with an intent of making a ſettlement. It was his opinion, that the In-

dians of Puerto de la Paz, might eaſily be prevailed on to embrace the chriſtian religion, and for the accompliſhment of this moſt deſirable end, with the vicar Nava was ſent, another prieſt called don Juan de Zunniga. In both voyages he took care to lay in as large a quantity of proviſions as poſſible; yet in both, they were all conſumed, and he returned to Mexico, having experienced the ſame melancholy circumſtances, all the others had felt before him, namely, the barrenneſs and total want of ſuſtenance in the country. He, however, laid before the government two propoſals; the firſt that the garriſon of Acaponeta ſhould be removed as uſeleſs, to the coaſt of California, Cinaloa being in a peaceable condition: and thus that body might ſerve to protect the conqueſt, and be a ſafeguard to ſettlers up the country. The ſecond, that a ſum of money ſhould be allowed in New Spain for ſending proviſions to thoſe who ſhould ſettle there. He was very aſſiduous to procure the countenance of the viceroy and the miniſtry, to theſe two maxims, which indeed were very juſt and prudent: urging at the ſame time, the immediate execution of them. He was deſirous of making a fourth voyage thither, on a ſure foundation, but had the mortification to hear that Eſtevan Carboneli his pilot, had obtained a licence from the viceroy, to make a freſh attempt

tempt at his own expence. Carboneli had not only ſupplanted his patron Ortega, but likewiſe blamed him, alledging that all the diſtreſſes of the three voyages, were owing to his neglect or fear, in not landing in California at a higher latitude; where he engaged to find a fertile country, and his people and the ſettlers meet with a comfortable ſubſiſtence. Full of his ſcheme, he ſailed for California in the year 1536. But though he went as high as poſſible, he in all parts, found only Indians, living naked in a barren land, ſupporting themſelves with ſhell fiſh, fruits, and game, without the leaſt appearance of culture or harveſt. Thus, after procuring ſome pearls, to comfort him in his diſappointment, he returned to New Spain, where Ortega had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing this new undertaker, become the object of publick deriſion.

To this æra, belong the contents of a paper, publiſhed at London, under the title of the narrative of Bartholomew de Fuentes, commander in chief of the navy in New Spain and Peru, and preſident of Chili; giving an account of the moſt remarkable tranſactions and adventures in this voyage, for the diſcovery of a paſſage from the South ſea, to that of the North in the northern hemiſphere, by order of the viceroy of Peru, in the year 1640. This writing

ting contains ſeveral accounts relating to California; but without entering at preſent into long diſputes, let it ſuffice to ſay, that little credit is to be given to this narrative. For the ſame reaſon we have before omitted the accounts of voyages made from the South ſea to the North round, beyond California; and thoſe of a contrary direction, of which an account is given by captains Seixas and Lobera, in Theatro Naval, in Spaniſh and French; and particularly of that Spaniard who is ſuppoſed in three months to have come from Puerto de Navidad, and Cabo Corientes to Liſbon. Theſe and other accounts, diſperſed in different books, we deſignedly omit, as they want the neceſſary authenticity. Let us now return to our narrative.

So many unſucceſsful expeditions to California, ſo far from indiſpoſing the minds of people to any further attempts, ſeemed rather to inflame their deſires; eſpecially as ſome pearls were brought from thence, with exaggerated reports of their prodigious plenty. Beſides, as the generality of thoſe, who tranſport themſelves to America, without any poſt or employment, are ſeduced with the hopes of ſpeedily acquiring a fortune with little or no fatigue: and as the nature and ſtate of the country, does not afford means for many, even to get a tolerable ſupport, there

there being no manufactures in which they can employ themſelves: and working of the mines and culture of the lands, the two fatal cauſes of the diſpeopling and wretchedneſs of ſuch fruitful countries, are laborious, a ſufficient number is always found, who, having little or nothing to venture, eaſily conceive ſanguine hopes of mending their fortunes in ſome new enterpriſe. The government was actuated by other ſprings; but knowing that great numbers would offer to ſerve, contributed to faciliate the execution. The importance of the enterpriſe, after ſo many fruitleſs attempts, being evident, the viceroy don Diego Lopez Pacheco, marquis de Villena, and duke of Eſcalona, reſolved that it ſhould be again attempted at his majeſty's expence. But in order to proceed with greater circumſpection than had been hitherto obſerved, he ſent directions to don Luis Ceſtin de Canas, governor of Cinaloa, that as his province lay oppoſite to California, he ſhould, with the ſoldiers of his garriſon, paſs over and take a ſurvey of its coaſts, iſlands, bays, creeks, and the diſpoſition and nature of the ground; at the ſame time he deſired father Luis de Bonifaz, provincial of the jeſuits, to recommend an able perſon of that order, to accompany him; and he very juſtly recommended father Jacinto Cortes, a miſſionary in the ſaid province of Cinaloa. There would have

have been little occaſion for this preparatory ſurvey, after ſo many others which had been continually making for above a century, had the reports, narratives, charts, draughts, and maps, which were made, or ſhould have been made, by ſo many diſcoveries, ſtill continued in being. But theſe are the effects of the want of proper care in preſerving papers, a fault to be regretted by perſons in power, to whom they would be of ſervice in the conduct of affairs, and by private perſons, on account of their intereſt, or as entertainments of a commendable curioſity. Another cauſe of their want of ſuch documents, is the neglecting to render common and publick, by means of the preſs, every thing which now and in future times, may be uſeful to religion and the ſtate. But by the loſs of ſome papers, either through a change in the government, or irregularity in the records, the whole advantage of an expedition is loſt; ſo that often the expences muſt be renewed, or the diſpoſitions faulty, for want of thoſe lights which might always be at hand, without any other coſt, than that of a juſt regard to poſterity. At laſt the ſurvey was made, in the month of July 1642, as appears from father Cortes's letter, in which he acquaints the father provincial, that from Cinaloa they went to ſome iſlands, to which they gave the name of San Joſeph, and that the inhabitants received

received them with pleaſure, as being friends of the Spaniards, who came thither to dive for pearls; becauſe they protected them from the Guicuros, their enemies, who lived on the continent. From thence, ſays father Cortes, we coaſted along the ſhore, forty leagues weſtward to la Paz. He confirms the accounts of the pearls, the poverty of the natives, and their good diſpoſitions for embracing the faith. He alſo touches upon their cuſtoms, and the extent of the coaſt, concluding with a requeſt, that ſhould a door be opened for the goſpel among theſe unhappy creatures, he may be appointed miſſionary to them. The governor likewiſe ſent his report to the viceroy, which he accompanied with pearls, collected in this expedition.

It was now out of the viceroy's power to iſſue the orders he could have wiſhed, in conſequence of this account, being at that juncture ſucceeded in the government, by don Juan de Palafox and Mendoza biſhop de los Angeles, the marquis having been diſplaced, from ſome ill-grounded ſuſpicions of his loyalty, fomented by malicious informations. The marquis returned to Spain, where he honourably cleared himſelf of the ſlander, which God at length cauſed to fall on the heads of its authors. And he might have returned to Mexico, as the offer was made him by Philip IV. had he not preferred the viceroy-

ſhip

ſhip of Sicily, which at that time alſo, ſtood in need of a man of the marquis's abilities. However, he was ſo far from forgetting the conqueſt of California, that it was owing to his repreſentations to the king, that now more numerous and effectual preparatives were making for it than ever. The admiral don Pedro Portel de Caſanate, was ordered without delay, to go from Spain to Mexico, with full power and neceſſaries to equip a fleet, and make ſettlements in California. Alſo to do whatever he thought would conduce to bring thoſe people into the boſom of the church, and to ſecure the coaſts, as dominions of his majeſty, for the ſafety of the commerce and navigation of his ſubjects. The admiral reached New Spain at the end of the year 1643, and the new viceroy don Garcia Sarmiento and Sotomayor count de Salva-Terra, agreeably to the royal orders aſſiſted him in the armament; and jointly with the admiral, conferred the ſpiritual government of the ſquadron and of California, on the reverend father of the jeſuits, in a letter written to the provincial father Luis de Bonifaz, which I with pleaſure inſert here, as a memorial both of the piety and and courteſy of this excellent viceroy.

" Moſt reverend father provincial, his majeſty, whom God preſerve, has been pleaſed to commit the diſcovery of California, to the care and

and diligence of don Pedro de Caſſanate, an affair which many have attempted, without thoroughly accompliſhing it: and as the conſummate experience of this gentleman, in ſea affairs, together with his other abilities, give the moſt certain hopes of the deſired effect from his voyage and endeavours, particularly as he carries with him ſome fathers of your reſpectable company, which gives me great pleaſure: and I prophecy the moſt happy ſucceſſes. I ſhould therefore eſteem it an obligation, if your paternal reverence would condeſcend to aſſiſt him on all occaſions. And that you will be pleaſed to order the like to be done in all the houſes and miſſions under your ſuperintendance, as is agreeable to the ſervice of God and his majeſty. And your paternal reverence knows, that you may command me in any thing within my power. I conclude with requeſting you to ſecond this affair, and do all poſſible good offices to admiral Caſſanate, October 13th 1643.

The provincial, equally complaiſant, acknowledged both to the viceroy and the admiral, how greatly he approved of their choice, in ſo glorious an expedition, making at the ſame time, a tender of his own perſon, and all dependant on him; and on the 15th of October, ſent ſuitable inſtructions and orders, nominating the father Jacinto Cortes and Andres Baes, miſſionaries

miſſionaries of Cinaloa, to accompany the admiral in the deſcent. The active Caſſanate went over to the ports on the South ſea, to haſten the equipment of the ſhips, and in 1644, ſailed with them for the coaſt of Cinaloa, where he was to take in the miſſionaries, with ſome men and proviſions. Being come to Cinaloa, where every thing ſeemed to promiſe, that now the conqueſt could not fail of being compleated, he received an account that ſome Engliſh and Dutch privateers had appeared in thoſe ſeas, to intercept the Acapulco ſhip, with orders to ſail immediately to the South ſea, in order to meet with, and conduct her into port. This ſervice he happily performed: but while, he was again preparing to ſail on his principal deſign, ſome malicious perſons ſet two of his ſhips on fire. And thus he ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of ſuſpending the enterpriſe. This misfortune, however, did not diſcourage the admiral, who ordered two others to be built on the coaſt of Cinaloa; and in the year 1648, ſailed with them, accompanied by the two jeſuits. He took a very careful ſurvey of the eaſtern coaſt of the gulf, with a view of finding a proper place for fixing the principal garriſon; but he found himſelf ſurrounded with the ſame difficulties, as had ſo often rendered the attempt abortive, the dryneſs and ſterility of the country.

try. And while he was ſteering from coaſt to coaſt, and from bay to bay, he received a ſecond order to meet the Philippine or Acapulco ſhip, which was always in danger from enemies, who, not content with inſulting the dominions of the Spaniſh monarchy, under its then unhappy ſtate of diminution, weakneſs, and total loſs of reputation, moleſted the little commerce it had in theſe ſeas, which its ſubjects had diſcovered with ſo much glory, above a century paſt. The admiral a ſecond time brought the ſhip ſafe into Acapulco; and from thence went to lay before the viceroy, the difficulties attending the conqueſt of California, which for that time was laid aſide; and ſhortly after, this deſerving officer was promoted to the government of the exuberant, but poor kingdom of Chili.

Philip IV. however, a little before his death, which happened on the 17th of September 1665, had ordered the reduction of California to be again completed. And the perſon nominated to put this order in execution, was don Bernardo Bernal de Pinadero, but under certain conditions, both the treaſury and nation being exhauſted, notwithſtanding the importation of ſo many millions, which had only ſerved to enrich the other parts of Europe. But Mexico labouring under that fatal languor, which had

pervaded the whole body of the Spaniſh monarchy, two ſmall veſſels, built in the Valle de Venderas, were not ready for the expedition till the year 1664, when the voyage took place, and the ſhips being arrived at California, their whole care and employment was to purchaſe and fiſh for pearls; compelling with the moſt barbarous violence, the poor Californians to comply with their demands. As this avarice and cruelty little contributed to the capital intention of their voyage, ſo it became, in ſome meaſure, its own puniſhment; for the quarrels among the Spaniards, with regard to the riches they had found, were carried to ſuch extremity that ſeveral were killed and wounded, and the admiral, to avoid farther confuſion, having procured a large quantity of pearls, returned to New Spain. He however met with a cold reception from the government, and the affair having been debated in the council of the Indies, the queen mother, then regent, during the minority of Charles II. ſent orders, that admiral Pinadero ſhould be obliged, conformable to the treaty made with the king, to attempt another deſcent. The admiral was not averſe to this, and accordingly in two ſhips built at Chacala, he ſailed on another expedition in the year 1667. Father Kino mentions it, but all he ſays, is, that it miſcarried like all the former.

Nor

Nor was fortune more favourable to captain Franciſco Luzenilla, who, in the following year 1668, obtained a licence for an expedition at his own expence, with two ſhips accompanied by two Franciſcans, Juan Cavallero Carranco, and Juan Baptiſta Ramirez. He arrived at cape San Lucas, and proceeded to make a ſettlement at Puerto de la Paz, where the religious employed their zeal for the converſion of the natives; but the difficulties were inſuperable, ſo that the captain was obliged to abandon his new ſettlement. He next ſailed to a bay near the river Hiaqui: from whence the religious, that their miſſion might not be entirely fruitleſs, penetrated up the country as far as the province of Nayaret, where they ſpent ſome time in propagating the chriſtian religion among its ſavage inhabitants; the care of whom, the ſociety of jeſuits undertook ſome years after.

SECT. V.

The laſt expeditions to CALIFORNIA, till the end of the reign of Charles II.

During the firſt year of the reign and minority of Charles II. no other expeditions were undertaken to California than thoſe we have already mentioned; but the inhabitants of the

coaſt of Culiacan, Cinaloa, Yaqui, Mayo, and New Biſcay, were continually going over in little barks, to the eaſtern coaſt, to procure pearls, either by barter or fiſhing. In the mean time, the neceſſity of making a ſettlement on the coaſt of California, after a long deliberation in the council of the Indies, was determined, and inſtructions ſent on the 26th of February 1677, to don Francis Payo Enriquez de Rivera, archbiſhop of Mexico, and viceroy of New Spain, that admiral Pinadero ſhould be again employed in the conqueſt of that country, on his giving ſecurity for performing all the articles that ſhould be agreed on: and that if he declined it, the offer ſhould be made to any perſon that would undertake it at his own expence: and laſtly, if no other method could be diſcovered, it ſhould be done at the expence of the crown. The enterpriſe fell to admiral don Iſedro Otondo and Antillion, who ſigned an inſtrument for that purpoſe in December 1678, and which was approved at Madrid, by a warrant of the 29th of December 1679, conferring the ſpiritual government on the jeſuits, and father Euſebio Franciſco Kino. On the receipt of his majeſty's approbation, the admiral began his preparations, and put to ſea from Chacala, on the 18th of May 1683, above ſix years ſince his majeſty's firſt warrant: and in

fourteen days came to Puerto de la Paz. He had with him two ſhips, very well provided with all kinds of ſtores, and above one hundred men, three of whom were father Kino as ſuperor of the miſſion, and the fathers Juan Baptiſta Copart, and Pedro Matthias Goni. They were to be followed by a bilander, with proviſions and other ſtores; but after ſeveral diſappointments, ſhe wandered a long time about the gulf, without ever getting ſight of the ſhips.

The admiral and his men continued aboard five days, without ſeeing any Indians as they expected, on which, at laſt they landed; but on their beginning to form a garriſon, they diſcovered the natives armed, and disfigured with variety of colours, to ſtrike the greater terror; but ſeeing a large number of people, they halted and made threatening geſtures, intimating that the Spaniards ſhould quit the coaſt. This proceeded from the abuſes their good nature had ſuffered from other Spaniards, who had landed there. The ſoldiers drew up, and the miſſionaries went without any attendants towards them, with a great number of little preſents, and ſome proviſions, intimating by ſigns, that they came peaceably. They gave them the preſents, which the Indians threw on the ground. But while the fathers were returning, the Indians began to eat what they had at firſt thrown

away with diſdain, and immediately haſtened after the fathers, begging for more; and even without any fear or ſuſpicion, followed them into the garriſon among the ſoldiers, where they were ſo kindly entertained, that they went away to their rancherias highly pleaſed, ſo tractable and unſuſpecting are all theſe poor Indians in general. The like happened to another company of them, which came two days after to the Spaniſh camp, and were kindly entertained by admiral Otondo, who came to ſhew them an experiment of the force of fire-arms, deſiring eight of the moſt robuſt of them, to ſhoot their arrows againſt one of the leathern targets which the ſoldiers carried: which they did, but could not penetrate it. Whereas a muſket ball fired off before them, made its way through three targets placed cloſe together. At this, they ſhowed the greateſt aſtoniſhment. It alſo inſpired them with ſuch terror, that the Spaniards were under little apprehenſions of any inſults. A church was immediately raiſed, together with ſome huts, compoſed of branches of trees. And the admiral having ſent a veſſel to Rio Hiaqui for proviſions, began to ſend parties up the country.

The firſt directed their way to the ſouth weſt of la Paz, as the Indians called Guaycuros came down from thence to the garriſon, but always

always armed, and never bringing with them their wives or children. And at length became ſo tired of their gueſts, that they more than once ordered them to be gone, and leave their country. But notwithſtanding this, the admiral with don Franciſco Pereda, captain of the admiral's ſhip and other officers, together with father Kino and Joſeph de Guijoſa, went up the country eſcorted by a party of twenty-five ſoldiers, ſome labourers going before, to make a way through the foreſt, the paths being only paſſable by the naked Indians. After marching ſeven leagues with great difficulty, they came to a plain, on which they ſaw rancherias of the Indians, who immediately endeavoured to conceal their wives and children: and in order to this, ſome of them came out to receive the Spaniards and amuſe them, telling them that the aguage or watering place was not there; but when their families were ſecured, they would ſhow it. The Spaniards ſpent the night there, regaling the Indians, and ſhewing them all poſſible marks of kindneſs. But they ſtill kept their weapons in their hands, nor did the chriſtians forget the precautions, neceſſary to be obſerved in an enemy's country. The next day, ſeeing the impoſſibity of going further up the country, on account of its ruggedneſs, and the want of water and proviſions, the party re-

turned to the garriſon. It was apprehended, that nothing but the fear of thoſe Indians who had behaved peaceably towards us, reſtrained theſe from falling upon our men. The grounds for this ſuſpicion were, a caution they uſed, when they ſaw the Spaniards at their rancherias, having ſecretly ſent twelve of the ſwifteſt, with a captain to the garriſon; from whence they returned in a few hours, and very fortunately, without any cauſe of complaint from the commander, or any of his company. The ſecond company went towards the Eaſt, headed by father Goni, but with much more fatigue and danger, this part being fuller of rocks and precipices. In a narrow valley they found another nation of Indians, called Coras, very mild and communicative. And after ſome reciprocal marks of kindneſs, they frequently came to the garriſon, and with ſo little ſuſpicion, that they often lay among the ſoldiers.

The Guaycuros were of as different a diſpoſition, openly ſhewing their diſcontent. And went ſo far as to threaten our men, that if they did not leave their country, their whole nation would unite to extirpate them. The Spaniards bore theſe inſults patiently, hoping by a courteous behaviour, to inſpire them with better ſentiments, and overcome the oppoſition they made againſt a ſettlement. But at laſt on the

6th

6th of June, they came on a ſudden divided into two companies, and after calling out to the Spaniards to be gone, they attacked the intrenchments. Theſe were on the point of diſcharging a paderero, which would certainly have killed ſeveral of them, but happily obſerved that the admiral was advanced beyond the lines: and indeed with an intrepidity which aſtoniſhed his men, he haſtened up to the moſt advanced company, and ſpeaking to the captain in a loud fierce manner, accompanied with geſtures of reſentment, the Indian leader was quite confounded, and the two troops quietly returned to their rancherias. At this the Guaycuros began again to frequent the garriſon, though always with ſome apprehenſion. But a ſingular accident of no great importance, and a falſe account too eaſily believed, occaſioned a very unhappy rupture.

A mulatto boy belonging to the camp, being miſſing, it was at firſt believed, that he had withdrawn himſelf among ſome of the Guaycuros, in order to remain with them. In a little time a report, the riſe of which was never known, ſpread itſelf among the ſoldiers and the people of the garriſon, that the Guaycuros had murdered the boy. And this report was the more eaſily believed and magnified, from the fear which many had of the Guaycuros; and it

was

was ſaid that ſome of the Coras knew it to be fact. The misfortune was, that not one perſon underſtood the Guaycuros language; and only one ſoldier had a ſlight knowledge of that of the Coras. The admiral judging it would be dangerous to ſuffer ſuch audacious attempts, ordered when the Guaycuros came to the garriſon, that their captain ſhould be confined. This the Indians ſo highly reſented, that the following days they came in ſeveral companies to demand his liberty; inſiſting at the ſame time, with many menaces, that the Spaniards ſhould leave their country. But ſeeing that all their meaſures had no effect, they determined to unite their forces, and fall upon the Spaniards unexpectedly. This reſolution being formed, they invited the Coras, though their enemies, to join in a cauſe, which they repreſented as common to both nations. But the Coras, though they offered their aſſiſtance, choſe rather to be faithful to the Spaniards, on whoſe aſſiſtance againſt the Guaycuros, they placed great confidence, than deprive themſelves of ſo unexpected a protection, againſt the frequent depredations and violences of the Guaycuros. And accordingly, by means of this ſoldier, they informed them of the plot, and the blow intended to be given them on the 1ſt of July. The admiral ordered the centries to be doubled; a

paderero

paderero to be placed on the ſide where the Indians uſed to come down, and the people acquainted with their bloody deſign. But ſuch was the alarm and dejection, that he well underſtood he had not with him many of thoſe brave men, who had ſubdued America. The garriſon was ſtruck with conſternation; and whatever the admiral, captains, and the fathers could ſay to animate the people, nothing was heard but cries and lamentations, as if they were every one to fall victims to the rage of the Indians. This ſcandalous cowardice of his men, threw the admiral into greater perplexity, than if whole armies of Californians had appeared againſt them. The day appointed came, and the Indians ſhewed themſelves to the number of fourteen or fifteen hundred, coming confuſedly from the foreſt. They ſtopped on the acclivity, as if they waited for ſuch of their companions as were not in ſight: and our people concluded, that their intention was to draw them from the garriſon, and attack them in the open field. But they remained quiet, and the Indians advanced towards the garriſon. When they came within a proper diſtance, the paderero was fired, and killed ten or twelve, beſides wounding others, ſo that they immediately, together with thoſe who lay concealed in the foreſt, fled precipitately to their rancherias.

Providence,

Providence, however, permitted that this ill adviſed reſolution of the admiral, or the leading men in his ſquadron, ſhould fall upon their own heads. For ſo far was the ſlaughter of theſe innocent Indians, from removing the conſternation of the garriſon, that it became a kind of pannick, from a notion that all the natives of California would fall upon them, and take a dreadful revenge for the death of their countrymen. Another cauſe of diſcontent, was, that they had already been three months in the bay, without any advantage to compenſate for the great hardſhips they had ſuffered. Beſides, of the little proviſions remaining, the greateſt part was damaged and rotten. The ſhip which had been ſent for proviſions to the river Hiaqui, though not above eighty leagues diſtant, not having been heard of for two months, was given over for loſt. The diſcontent and affliction of many, grew to ſuch a height, that they came like people in an agony, lamenting and calling to the admiral, that he would carry them from there, even though he left them in the neighbouring iſlands. The admiral might well have feared ſome plot againſt his perſon, had not a diſagreeable experience made him eaſy on that account, for he well knew they wanted courage. He endeavoured to appeaſe them by motives of honour, and hopes of relief from the other

ſhip;

ſhip; but theſe making no impreſſion, he found himſelf obliged to prepare for a reimbarkation; and left Puerto de la Paz, on the 14th of July. He ſtaid ſome time among the neighbouring iſlands, with an intent of returning to la Paz, if the other ſhip and the bilander came in time. The ſhip had immediately on its arrival at Hiaqui, been ſupplied by the miſſionaries; and putting to ſea, came three times in ſight of California, without being able to reach the ſhore; and was three times obliged, amidſt very ſtormy weather, to put back to the river Hiaqui. The third time they got intelligence by ſome pearl boats, that the admiral was ſailing for cape San Lucas, on which they endeavoured to meet him. From this cape, the admiral reſolved to return to Cinaloa for a ſupply of proviſions, and to attempt a ſecond landing in a higher latitude, where he was informed the country was more convenient, and the Indians of a more friendly diſpoſition.

Accordingly, having in Hiaqui harbour ſold a great part of his effects, and even pledged his plate and furniture, in order to purchaſe ſtores, he ſailed again for California; and, on the 6th of October, came to an anchor in twenty-ſix degrees and half latitude, in a large bay, which he called San Bruno, being the anniverſary feſtival of that ſaint. The very ſame day,

day, with three miſſionaries and ſome ſoldiers, he went in queſt of water, which he found at the diſtance of half a league; ſo that the ſituation being approved of, and the Indians tractable and friendly, on the third day a garriſon was formed, and immediately a church with ſome cottages were began. He now diſpatched the ſmaller ſhips for proviſions and letters to the viceroy, giving him an account of his proceedings, and deſiring a ſupply of money, both which he obtained, and again took poſſeſſion of California, in his majeſty's name, with the uſual ceremonies, an act often performed with more pomp than advantage. After theſe ceremonies, and being attended by the fathers, he made his firſt progreſs up the country, in December of the ſame year 1683, to beyond twenty-five degrees weſtward; treating all the Indians as he met, with the utmoſt kindneſs, and inviting them to the garriſon. The ſecond progreſs was towards the ſame quarter, but with a deſign of reaching the oppoſite coaſt on the South ſea. After three days travelling, they came to a mountain which they were obliged to aſcend on foot, with great fatigue. On the ſummit they found a wide plain, ſeveral leagues in extent, and on it ſome rancherias, which had been forſaken by the natives. Near a pond of rain water, they were met by ſeven-

teen

teen Indians, who, in token of their peaceable intentions, threw away their bows and arrows. The miſſionaries, by ſigns and ſome words they had already learned of their language, paid them their compliments, and invited them to the garriſon of San Bruno. They enquired of them the diſtance to the South ſea; and were informed that not far off was a ſmall river running into it. But though they went forward, along a very rugged country, from mountain to mountain, they were ſtill diſappointed with regard to diſcovering the South ſea; and were obliged to return to the garriſon, after a very toilſome journey of fifty leagues, by unavoidable circumvolutions, in a country full of precipices, and without any known road. For the diſtance betwixt ſea and ſea, in a direct line, is not leſs than 50 leagues.

In theſe and the like landings and progreſſes, the admiral ſpent above a year, the fathers in the mean time, diligently applied themſelves to learn the two languages which are ſpoken in that country. When they had attained a tolerable knowledge of theſe tongues, they tranſlated into it the chief articles of the chriſtian doctrine. But what put them to the greateſt trouble in this, was, to find ſome Indian words to expreſs this article, he aroſe from the dead. Here it was neceſſary to have recourſe to invention,

vention, of which neceſſity is juſtly ſtiled the mother: and according to father Kino's letter, to his maſter father Henry Scherer, it was the following. They took ſome flies, and in preſence of the Indians, put them under water that they were thought to be dead: but on placing them among ſome aſhes, and expoſing them to the rays of the ſun, the vital faculties of the flies were recovered, and ſoon came again to life. The Indians in a rapture of aſtoniſhment, cried out, Ibimuhueite! Ibimuhueite! Theſe words the fathers wrote down, and making further enquiry, they applied it to import the reſurrection of our Saviour, and of the dead, being in want of a better word for explaining our myſteries to theſe people. Having now drawn up a catechiſm, they applied themſelves entirely to the inſtruction of the Indians, eſpecially the children. They ſoon, by the help of ſeveral inventives, learned the heads of our doctrine, in their own language, and in Spaniſh; and every day kneeling, and with their hands joined, they repeated it in the form of a prayer with the fathers. From being ſcholars, they became the maſters of their parents and relations; and though of an age, naturally improper for ſuch an office, they proved ſucceſsful catechiſts. By theſe means, ſeconded with the indefatigable labour of the fathers, they had the pleaſure

of

of ſeeing in that year above four hundred adult catechumens prepared for baptiſm. But the fathers, who were always fearful for the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, did not baptize any, unleſs at the point of death. Thirteen according to father Kino, were baptized in this manner, three of whom recovered; and with the conſent of their parents, the admiral brought them away, and delivered them to the biſhop of Guadalaxara, who received them with the greateſt marks of affection. The fathers were pleaſing themſelves with the docility of the Indians, and their willingneſs to embrace the tenets of the chriſtian religion; but the admiral was far from finding the ſame ſatisfaction in the country, of which he had received ſuch promiſing information; for experience had convinced him, that it would be very difficult to maintain a ſettlement in that place. He therefore gave orders to the captain of his leaſt ſhip, to take a careful ſurvey of the coaſt on the north ſide, in order to find out a more convenient ſituation; accordingly he went among the Indians, who dive for pearls, the placeres or pearl beds being much ſcarcer in this place than in la Paz, uſing all poſſible expedition in the execution of theſe orders; both on account of the diſpatches, received from the viceroy, requiring an account of his proceedings, and likewiſe a repreſentation delivered to him

by the ſoldiers, and ſigned with their names, ſetting forth their hardſhips and ſickneſſes, occaſioned by the bad quality of the ſoil and climate. In order to comply with both, he called a council of the officers and miſſionaries, and requiring that each ſhould ſign his opinion, that of the majority of the officers, was for quitting the garriſon of San Bruno, as an unwholſome barren country. The fathers moved for ſtaying ſome time: for no rain having fallen for eighteen months, a competent judgment could not be formed of the country, from the time they had continued there. The admiral to theſe opinions, added his own, informing the viceroy likewiſe, of the inſtructions he had given to the Capitana or ſmaller ſhip; and of what he intended to do. The ſick were put on board a ſhip, and with them he ſailed to the coaſt of Cinaloa, ſending away a packet to the viceroy; and having again furniſhed his ſhip, went on the diſcovery of pearl beds; till in September 1685, being in the harbour of San Ignatio, he received the reſolution, taken by the viceroy in a general council, by which he was ordered, that after ſuch vaſt expences, he ſhould not attempt a ſettlement in any other part; only taking care, if poſſible, to maintain what he had conquered, and wait the future reſult of the diſcoveries. The Capitana,

not

not finding what ſhe was ſent in queſt of, after great difficulties returned to San Bruno. Not long before the admiral had put into this harbour, but in a few days, the garriſon wanting proviſions, and the obſtructions to that ſettlement, of which he was ſo very deſirous, being unſurmountable, he embarked all the people, together with the miſſionaries and the three Californians, and ſailed to the harbour of Matanchel, whence he ſent advice to the viceroy of his arrival. Here he received orders to put to ſea immediately, and take under his convoy the Philippine ſhip, which he fortunately met with two or three days after he had ſailed, and brought her ſafe to Acapulco, to the diſappointment of ſome Dutch privateers, who were waiting for her along the coaſt of Navidad.

Hence he want to Mexico, where he gave an account to the viceroy, and the miniſtry, of the ſeveral obſervations, diſcoveries, and incidents, in his fruitleſs expedition; in which, beſides the waſte of three years, were expended two hundred and twenty-five thouſand crowns of the royal revenue. The viceroy gave orders for the examination of the whole affair, in a general council; and after a mature deliberation on all the difficulties, it was reſolved, that the conqueſt of California was impracticable by thoſe means; that however, the reduction of

it, ſhould be recommended to the ſociety of the jeſuits, with an offer of the neceſſary ſums, to be paid annually out of the king's treaſury. Accordingly in the council, held on the 11th of April 1686, the treaſurer of the audience, admiral Otondo and father Kino, were ordered to make an eſtimate of the neceſſary ſums, and that the ſaid treaſurer, ſhould go with the propoſal to father Daniel Angelo Marras, vice-provincial; father Bernabé de Soto the provincial, being abſent on the viſitation. The treaſurer delivered a draught of the offer to father Marres, who with the unanimous opinion of the chapter, convened on the occaſion, anſwered, that the ſociety entertained the moſt grateful ſenſe of the honour done them in that confidence; but ſaw very great inconveniences in taking upon themſelves the temporal concerns of ſuch a conqueſt in the manner expreſſed; yet ſhould be always ready to ſupply neceſſary miſſionaries, as they had done in the preceding expeditions. The treaſurer, purſuant to freſh orders from the council, repeated his inſtances; but the ſociety could not be brought to recede from their firſt opinion.

On this diſappointment, the royal council were ſo perſuaded of the impracticability of the conqueſt by the uſual means, that the petition of captain Franciſco Luzenilla, for licence to attempt

attempt it at his own expence, with a ſmall allowance from the king, was rejected. However, the difficulty added new ardour and deſire for the enterpriſe. The ſame political and religious motives ſubſiſted, and freſh orders and proofs of the king's pleaſure, came over from Spain. Thus after an exact calculation of the expences, it was found that it would require no leſs than thirty thouſand crowns per annum, the treaſurer affirming in his memorial of the 14th of March, that this expence was unavoidable, the calculation having been made with all poſſible frugality. Accordingly the ſaid ſum was ordered to be advanced to admiral Otondo, to enable him to make a third attempt. Thus the concerns of the conqueſt were now as it were received, when in the very week that the monies were to be paid to the admiral, letters came from Spain, in which the king required five hundred thouſand crowns, though raiſed by loan, together with a ſchedule of the 22d of December 1685, directing that the enterpriſe to California ſhould be laid aſide, during the continuance of the war with the Tarrahumares. Thus a period was put to the expedition, and though the revolt of the Tarrahumares was ſoon after quelled, yet the conqueſt of California at the royal expence, was no longer thought of. Indeed in the year 1694, a licence

was granted to captain Franciſco Itamarra, for making a deſcent at his own expence. But he had no better ſucceſs than his predeceſſors, returning with an account, that the Indians of San Bruno and their neighbours, were very urgent for the miſſionaries to be ſent them according to promiſe. Such was the iſſue of ſo many expeditions, carried on at ſuch an immenſe charge, for the ſpace of near two centuries.

A

NATURAL and CIVIL HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA.

PART III.

Reduction of CALIFORNIA by the jesuits and their transactions, to the present time.

SECT. I.

First entrance into CALIFORNIA, by father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra, in the year 1697.

WE have seen the ardour with which the conquest of California was prosecuted, for the space of two centuries, since the discovery and conquest of New Spain; and at the same time, the very little advantage of such a series of expeditions. The great conqueror Hernand Cortes, several times employed

on it, the whole force he could raiſe. His example ſtimulated many private perſons; governors, admirals, and vicercys, embarked in it on their own bottoms. At laſt the kings of Spain themſelves, took the ſcheme into their hands; yet all the reſult of ſuch vaſt expences, ſuch powerful efforts, was, that the reduction of California was given over as unſurmountable: and ſo indeed it was by the means made uſe of by men, but not by thoſe which God had choſen. Arms and power were the means on which men relied, for the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe. But it was the will of heaven, that this triumph ſhould be owing to the meekneſs and courteſy of his miniſters, to the humiliation of his croſs, and the power of his word. God ſeemed only to wait till human force acknowledged its weakneſs, to diſplay the ſtrength of his Almighty arm, confounding the pride of the world, by means of the weakeſt inſtruments; poſſibly God was not pleaſed to countenance the firſt enterpriſes on California, whilſt the capital object was temporal good, and religion only a ſecondary motive. And on the contrary, he proſpered the deſign, when his kingdom was the motive, and the advantage of the monarchy only conſidered as a probable conſequence.

The conferences at Mexico being broke up, and the door ſhut by the king's order, to all further

further enterprises on California, the fathers who had accompanied admiral Otondo, were distributed to other missions: yet continued full of solicitude for reaping that plentiful harvest, which they had seen in California, so ripe for the sickle of the gospel; particularly father Eusebio Francisco Kino, had the conquest very much at heart, and it did not appear so difficult to him as to others. This father, pursuant to a vow made at the point of death, to saint Francis Xavier, had quitted the professorship of mathematicks at Ingoldstadt, where he was honoured with particular favours from the electoral house of Bavaria, and come over to America. As he had proposed to himself this holy apostle for his model, he imitated his virtues, and all the other qualities of his seraphick mind. He had a heart equal to the greatest enterprises: his zeal was indefatigable, the advancement of his faith was his chief thought: his capacity accommodated itself to all circumstances; and in all, he found resources beyond the reach of others. His consummate knowledge in the useful sciences, as they animated him to undertake, so they were of special use to him in the execution. His liberality and sweetness of manners, procured him an absolute ascendancy over the hearts of all; even the most savage were never known to revolt against his

persuasions,

perſuaſions, which he delivered with ſuch a mildneſs and cordiality, as gained him their entire confidence. It was a man like this, which the conqueſt of California required. However, though it was undertaken by his advice, and he ſupported it, yet he was not the perſon choſen by heaven; but another who very nearly reſembled him in his fine qualities. Father Kino deſired to be appointed for the miſſions of Sonora, hoping from that province, as contiguous to California, the gulf of which waſhes its coaſts, to accompliſh an entrance into it, and in proceſs of time, the reduction of it.

With this view, he left Mexico the 20th of October 1686, and travelled all over the country, to inflame the minds of the miſſionary jeſuits, with the moſt ardent deſires of ſeconding ſo glorious an enterpriſe. He himſelf had aſked permiſſion of the father general for making this journey; and father Franciſco Maria Piccolo, and father Franciſco Xavier Saeta, who a little after had the happineſs of ſuffering martyrdom at Pimeria, had alſo requeſted the like indulgence. About this time father Juan Maria Salva-Tierra, who for many years had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a miſſionary, in the province of Tarrahumara, returned as viſitant to the miſſions of Cinaloa and Sonora. In this laſt government, he was met by father Kino, on his

entrance

entrance into the miſſions of Pimeria, adjacent to the pagan Apaches, which father Kino was enlarging with a ſucceſs equal to his aſſiduity and labour. There could not be a more proper perſon than father Salva-Tierra, who came nearer to the ardour, ſweetneſs, and benevolent diſpoſition of father Kino; and he was the perſon whom God had choſen to be the apoſtle of California; and had furniſhed him in a very extraordinary manner, with all the talents neceſſary for ſuch a difficult ſervice. He was of a ſtrong robuſt conſtitution, bearing fatigue and hardſhips without affecting his health. His judgment and prudence had recommended him to the unanimous approbation of the ſociety, for the high poſt he had enjoyed. He was of the moſt endearing gentleneſs in diſcourſe; had all the intrepidity and reſolution, requiſite for the beginning and conducting the greateſt enterpriſes. The opinion of his wiſdom and intellectual talents, had gained him univerſal eſteem, which was heightened to veneration by his chriſtian virtues. Such was the man whom heaven had formed a choſen veſſel, for introducing chriſtianity among the unhappy Californians. During the viſitation, father Kino gave him a full account of the good diſpoſition of the Californians, for receiving the faith: and of the means for giving a happy iſſue to an enterpriſe, in

which

which ſuch efforts had been made during two centuries. This they talked of when they were travelling: it was the ſubject both of their publick and private converſations; and father Kino writes "that the pious zeal of father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra was ſo moving, that he immediately determined to endeavour by all poſſible methods, to obtain admiſſion into California.

And this was accordingly accompliſhed by father Salva-Tierra in the following year, though for the ſake of brevity, we ſhall omit the particulars of the extraordinary ſervices performed by him, for accompliſhing this ſcheme. The ſociety oppoſed the undertaking, and three provincials, Ambroſio, Oddon, Diego Almonacir, and Juan de Palacios, repeatedly refuſed him a licence, looking upon the enterpriſe as impoſſible. The audience of Guadalaxara, and the viceroy, alſo oppoſed it, the treaſury being empty, and the affair of Otondo ſtill recent. In fine, it was oppoſed by the court of Madrid, where father Salva-Tierra's repreſentations to his majeſty, in his council of the Indies made no impreſſion. In ſhort, all the world declared againſt the deſigns of this religious man. At laſt, however, the difficulty ſeemed to be removed, and the fathers Salva-Tierra and Kino, came to Mexico on the 8th of January

nuary 1696; one from Guadalaxara, and the other from the center of the province of Pimeria, above five hundred leagues diſtant from the capital. Both came to ſolicit permiſſion for going to California, and father Kino to deſire the addition of ſome miſſionaries, to aſſiſt him in ſowing the ſeed of the goſpel, in the many nations he had viſited in that remote province. They made the moſt ſtrenuous repreſentations, for licence and proper aſſiſtance in their enterpriſe to California: but it was all in vain, and they found themſelves obliged to return, one to his miſſion of los Pinas, and the other to the care of his novices at Tepotzotlan.

But father Salva-Tierra, was not intimidated by theſe powerful oppoſitions, he a ſecond time petitioned for the father general's licence, to undertake this miſſion. That office was then filled by father Tyrſo Gonzales de Santa-Ella, whoſe learning and writings had done honour to the univerſity of Salamanca, and his miſſions, which comprehended the whole kingdom, had been attended with amazing benefits. In the converſion of the Moors, he had laboured with an unparalleled ſucceſs: and animated by the ſame ardour, he promoted the miſſions to the utmoſt of his power, and came to America very ſeaſonably to relieve father Salva-Tierra from any farther labour, if the conqueſt

of

of California, was judged practicable at Mexico. This licence arrived ſoon after the father had left Mexico, where after a long oppoſition, his ſuperiors allowed him to make new preparatives for the enterpriſe. The audience of Guadalaxara, now ſaw things in a very different light; and eſpouſed his deſigns with ſuch vigour, that the ſolicitor don Joſeph de Miranda Villizan, a man of uncommon parts, became his moſt active friend, aſſiſting the father in every thing, and acted as his faithful correſpondent. This ſolicitor on the 16th of July 1696, ſtrongly petitioned the audience, proving that the expedition deſerved their encouragement; accordingly it was ordered that a letter ſhould be ſent to the viceroy, recommending it to his protection. The difficulties however, which ſtill remained very great, but not able to were ſtagger father Salva-Tierra.

In the beginning of the year 1697, father Salva-Tierra came from Tepotzotlan to Mexico, being now authorized by the ſuperiors of his order, to raiſe collections for beginning a work, in which the fleets and treaſures of kings had failed. Here he met with a valuable companion in father Juan Ugarte, profeſſor of philoſophy in that college. This father likewiſe had the conqueſt very much at heart, and among other talents, he was poſſeſſed of a ſingular addreſs,

addreſs, in the management of temporal affairs, and bringing them to the moſt happy iſſue. But as this conqueſt of California was not to be undertaken, without having in Mexico an agent by whoſe prudence and attention, any ſudden difficulties might be removed, and who would take care to collect and ſend ſuccours from time to time, to the perſons engaged in it; father Ugarte undertook this office, and performed it with ſuch ſedulity, that though he reſided at Mexico, he inſured the ſucceſs of father Salva-Tierra's expedition to California.

Soon after, don Alonſo Davalos, count de Mira Vallez, and don Mattheo Fernandez de la Cruz, marquis de Buena-Viſta, promiſed the ſociety two thouſand dollars, and the liberalities of other benefactors, amounted to fifteen thouſand. Don Pedro de la Sierpe, treaſurer of Acapulco, offered to lend a galliot for carrying them over, adding a long boat, as a gift. But as the conqueſt was ſtill on no ſure foundation for want of funds to produce an annual revenue, the congregation of the Nueſtra Sennora de los Dolores of Mexico, founded in the college of ſaint Peter and ſaint Paul, gave eight thouſand dollars, as a fund for one miſſion, to which they afterwards added two thouſand more, an annual income of five hundred dollars being computed the loweſt that could be allowed each miſſion,

miſſion, as lying in a country, which beſides being at a great diſtance, and on the ſide of the ſea, was in want of every thing. Further don Juan Cavalero y Ozio, prieſt of the city of Queretaro, commiſſary of the inquiſition, a man of great wealth, but of equal munificence, ſubſcribed twenty thouſand crowns, as a fund for two other miſſions, and aſſured father Salva-Tierra that he would honour whatever bills came to his hands ſigned by him. Such promiſing beginnings, animated the fathers to apply for a licence from the viceroy, count de Motezuma, a nobleman whoſe memory New-Spain ought never to forget. The father provincial Juan de Palacios, addreſſed him in a very elegant and judicious memorial. He met with great difficulties in the royal council, till after various repreſentations, as nothing was here aſked of the king, and that by the treaſury books, admiral Otondo's expedition appeared to have coſt his majeſty two hundred and twenty-five thouſand four hundred dollars, the licence was granted on the 5th of February 1627. The warrants were delivered to father Juan Maria Salva-Tierra, permitting and impowering himſelf and father Kino to make an entrance into California on two conditions: firſt not to waſte any thing belonging to the crown, or draw on the treaſury, without an expreſs order

order from the king; and the second to take poſſeſſion of the country in his majeſty's name. The powers granted to them were the enliſting of ſoldiers at their own expence for their guard, appointing a commander, diſcharging him and the ſoldiers, notifying it at the ſame time to the viceroy: likewiſe that theſe ſhould enjoy the uſual immunities, and their ſervices be accounted the ſame as in time of war: and laſtly that the fathers might appoint proper perſons for the adminiſtration of juſtice in the new conqueſt. Father Salva-Tierra now haſtened his departure for Mexico, and leaving to father Ugarte the care of collecting and laying out the contributions, and ſending veſſels from Acapulco to the river Hiaqui; on the 7th of February he left that capital, taking with him the catechiſm and papers in father Copart's language; and on his arrival at Tepotzotlan, took his leave of his novices in the moſt pathetic manner, there having always been the moſt tender and mutual affection between them. At Guadalaxara he conferred with the audience and his liberal friend the ſollicitor Miranda, concerning his expedition. From hence he went on to Cinaloa; where he gave the neceſſary orders; and uſed the utmoſt diligence, though unhappily in vain, to find out the two chriſtian Californians who had been

brought over by the admiral Otondo. They were ſtill living; but concealed by the execrable avarice of a wretch who employed them in his farm: an incident of the moſt melancholy conſequences. Here he ſent for his choſen companion father Kino; but in the mean time took a journey for viſiting his former reſidence in the mountains of Chinapas. He went up as far as Sierra of the Tarahumara, and as he was returning, pleaſed with the condition in which he had found theſe infant communities, was informed of the inſurrection of the Indians of high Tarahumara. Immediately his mind was alarmed with the danger of the miſſionaries Nicolas de Prado, and Martin de Vinavides, under whoſe care this country then was, and who had no other defence than the fidelity of their new converts: he ventured to aſſiſt them, and with them went through a thouſand dangers from the hands of the apoſtates, till the Spaniards of the neighbouring garriſon came to their aſſiſtance. Here he ſtaid till the middle of Auguſt; and in his return received advice that the galliot had been at Hiaqui for ſome time. He therefore quickened his march, and at Hiaqui was informed by captain Juan Antonio Romero de la Sierpe, that he had been ſeven months in his paſſage amidſt variety of dangers and bad weather, rocks, and ſcarcity of proviſions; as

likewiſe from the diſcontent of the ſhip's company, when they came to know that they were not going to California to fiſh for pearls, as they had imagined. He ſtaid in this port two months, both to procure a freſh ſupply of proviſions, thoſe taken on board in New Galicia not being fit for uſe, wait for ſome ſoldiers which had been offered him, and likewiſe for father Kino whom he had ſent for. The ſoldiers were hindered from coming by the inſurrection of the Tarahumares. Father Kino immediately ſet out: but to his extreme concern was detained by father Horatio Police, the viſitor, and don Domingo Gironza Petris de Cruſat, chief magiſtrate of the province of Sonora, through fear that the like rebellion, would in ſo critical a juncture, ſpread itſelf among other nations. Father Franciſco Maria Piccolo, was therefore nominated in his room: but father Salva-Tierra, apprehending new delays, determined to go to California without waiting for him. Accordingly he left the harbour of Hiaqui on the 10th of October, 1697. Father Salva-Tierra's military attendants, were as peculiarly devoted to this enterpriſe, and conſiſted of five ſoldiers with their commander; don Luis de Torres Tortolero, enſign, and firſt captain of the garriſon of California, don Eſtevan Rodrigues Lorenzo,

who afterwards was many years a captain, Bartholomé de Robles Figueroa, a Creol of the province of Guadalaxara, Juan Caravana, a Maltese sailor, Nicolas Marques, a Sicilian sailor, and Juan, a Peruvian mulatto: besides whom were three Indians, Francisco de Tepahui of Cinaloa, Alonso de Guayavas of Sonora, and Sebastian of Guadalaxara.

With this small force the father sailed for California on the day above mentioned, in the galliot, taking with him the long boat, which soon became necessary; for the galliot had not got above half a league from the harbour, before a furious squall of wind came on and drove her ashore, where she stuck fast in the sand, and to all appearance there was little hope of safety. However by the help of the long boat, and the skill of the seamen, she floated with the flood, and was soon out of danger. On the 3d day they made California; but the long boat being separated from the galliot, and at a loss what coast to steer, they touched at Conception bay, 30 leagues northward of Loretto. They also took a view of the bay of San Bruno, where Otondo had pitched his camp: but this was not approved of, as being far from the sea, and affording only brackish water, especially as Juan Antonio Romere de la Sierpe, captain of the galliot, had offered to shew them a much more

more convenient place, which he had ſeen in Otondo's expedition. This was in the bay of San Dionyſio ten leagues ſouth of San Bruno, where the coaſt forms itſelf into the ſhape of a half moon near five leagues from point to point. The country near it was covered with trees and other verdure, with a ſufficiency of freſh water not far from the ſhore. Here they arrived and landed on Saturday the 19th of October, and were received with great joy and affection by above 50 Indians of the neighbouring rancheria, and others from San Bruno. A convenient ſpot near a watering place, about a league and a half from the ſhore was choſen for an encampment: the proviſions and animals were landed together with the baggage. The father, though the head of the expedition, being the firſt to load his ſhoulders. The barracks for the little garriſon were now built, and a line of circumvallation thrown up: in the center a tent was pitched for a temporary chapel. Before it was erected a crucifix with a garland of flowers; and every thing being diſpoſed in the beſt manner poſſible, the image of our lady of Loretto, as patroneſs of the conqueſt, was brought in proceſſion from the galliot, and placed with proper ſolemnity. Immediately afterwards, on the 25th of October, of the ſame year 1697, poſſeſſion was taken of the country in his ma-

jeſty's name. Father Salva-Tierra now applied himſelf to learn the language and inſtruct the Indians, appointing particular hours for this exerciſe, when the Indians came and repeated the prayers, and parts of the catechiſm which he read to them by means of father Copart's papers, after which, the father uſed to liſten, and write down their diſcourſe in order to learn the language. He talked to them and the Indians, and by that means corrected his miſtakes in the words and pronunciation. He uſed ſeveral contrivances for the more ſpeedy inſtructing the boys in the Spaniſh, though not without being laughed at by them, and the adults, for his wrong pronunciation; and their banters are attended with no little art and pleaſantry. When all was over, he uſed to diſtribute with his own hands, among thoſe who attended the exerciſes, an allowance of pozoli or boiled maiz. Theſe particulars may poſſibly appear trifles not worth mentioning; but let me entreat the reader to try their value in the balance of reaſon. Let him reflect what an agreeable ſight it muſt be even in the eyes of the divine Being himſelf, to ſee a man who might have acquired a large fortune by a ſecular employment, and had even lived in quiet and eſteem within the order he had choſen, voluntarily baniſh himſelf from his country and relations,

tions, to visit America; and when there, resign his employments, and leave a tranquil life for disappointments and fatigues: to live among savages, amidst distress and continual dangers of death, without any other motive, than to employ himself in such low and obscure actions, for the conversion of the Indians. At least, let every one ask himself, whether any worldly interest whatever, could induce him to such a resolution? and he will easily be convinced of the importance and dignity which these actions, so contemptible in the eyes of mortals, receive from the sublimity of the motives.

SECT. II.

Various incidents till the entrance of father Francis Maria Piccolo, into CALIFORNIA.

This small garrison being now something settled, father Salva-Tierra sent the galliot to the river Hiaqui, to bring father Piccolo with some soldiers and provisions, having ordered the captain to look out by the way for the long-boat. The galliot left San Dionysio, on the 26th day of October, and in the mean time, the active father remained in the garrison, performing the duty, not only of a missionary and father of a family, but likewise of officer and soldier; issuing proper orders, and at the most

inconvenient hours ſtanding centinel, the neceſſity of which ſoon appeared: for the Indians liking the pozoli, or boiled maiz, and deſiring that a larger allowance than uſual, which was half a buſhel a day, ſhould be given them, though they did not come to the catechiſm, broke out into complaints, and though every gentle method was tried to ſatisfy them, they proceeded to pilfer among the ſacks. Thus there was a neceſſity for keeping them from the garriſon, and accordingly ſome precautions were taken. This inflamed at once their appetite and reſentment: and at length depending on the great ſuperiority of their numbers, determined to make themſelves maſters of the whole, by killing the father and the Spaniards. Some of better diſpoſitions, reproached their countrymen for ſuch ingratitude and brutality, but this had little effect. However, before breaking out into an open war, they fell upon the few goats and cattle which had been brought over, whilſt they were feeding in a kind of a cloſe, which had been made for that purpoſe, and by their motions, ſeemed to deſign an aſſault on the camp. The father, though acquainted with their ficklenes, did not diſcontinue his uſual exerciſes, and the diſtribution of the pozoli. The night of the 31ſt of October had been pitched on for a general aſſault. This reſolution the father

was

was informed of by an Indian caſique, who, being ſick, had requeſted to be baptized, and was the firſt who received that ſacred initiation. The father could not help being under great apprehenſions, though he hoped every thing from providence, who he knew, in ſome extraordinary manner, would work his deliverance. At midnight they heard a muſket ſhot, which was anſwered by another from the camp. Immediately after, a paderero was fired from the ſea. The camp alſo fired another, which had been left by the captain of the galliot. On which, the Indians of the neareſt rancheria and others, who were coming to the attack, were ſeized with a terrible pannick: for our men thinking it was the long-boat that was loſt, called out by means of ſome Indian friend, who was among them, that they were Spaniards coming to their aſſiſtance. In the morning, they ſaw a veſſel near the neighbouring iſland del Carmen, but inſtead of ſtanding in for the ſhore, made for the iſland of Coronados: on which, a ſeaman was ſent off on a bargilla or ſmall raft, who brought a note from don Juan, the captain of the galliot, the contents of which was, that having been on the other coaſt, ſix leagues to leeward of Hiaqui, the bad weather had obliged him to come over to the coaſt of California, to get to windward, for continuing his voyage.

The

The ſhip, which checked the Indians, being out of ſight, they reaſſumed their former bloody purpoſes, inviting, as to a banquet of ſlaughter and plunder, moſt of the branches of their nation, that called the Lauretana, Liyues, Monquis, Didyus, Laymones, and ſome of the ſouthern Edues. Their inſolences occaſioned the Spaniards to come to ſome ſkirmiſhes with them, in which they did them as little damage as poſſible, but at the ſame time took care to make them feel how dangerous any formal attempt againſt them, would prove. Father Salva-Tierra calmly endeavoured to prevent any farther cauſe of complaint, not forgetting the neceſſary precautions againſt any diſagreeable event. But in this uncertain ſtate of diffidence, a ſmall incident occaſioned a declared rupture. One night in November, the Laymones, taking the advantage of the darkneſs, came to the camp, looſened the only horſe which father Salva-Tierra had been able to bring with him, and carried it off to eat. The creature being miſſing in the morning, Eſtevan Rodrigues and Juan Caravana, boldly offered to tract it, till they diſcovered the enemy. It ſeemed raſhneſs, as indeed it was, for two men to go alone in an unknown country, and alſo that of an enemy, in order to puniſh them. On the other hand, beſides the neceſſity, if poſſible,

ſible, of recovering the horſe, it was a prudent meaſure, the Indians, as I have before obſerved, always grow diſpirited, when they find they are oppoſed by a courageous enemy: and where they perceive any ſigns of fear, they little doubt of the victory. Some Indians, who were friends, had come to the camp, and admiring this brave reſolution of the two men, and fired with indignation at the injury done by their countrymen, offered to accompany them. Accordingly, they all marched up the country, and arriving at the ſummit of a mountain two leagues diſtant, they perceived on the ſkirts of it, the gang of robbers ſkining the horſe: but at the ſight of the Spaniards and their party, they betook themſelves to flight, and left it whole. The ſoldiers having diſtributed the horſe among their Indian friends, who received it as the greateſt dainty, they all returned to the camp. After this, the whole thoughts of the male-contents were turned, on making diſpoſitions for aſſaulting us at a proper opportunity, though ſuch was the ſtupidity of the greateſt part of them, that they continued coming to the camp under pretence of being catechiſed, to eat the pozoli, truſting in the father's patience, who in vain increaſed his diligence and kindneſs to them. The fatigue of being obliged to keep continual watch, became intolerable to ſuch a handful

handful of men. In the day they were expoſed to the parching heat of the ſun, and in the night to the rains, which were heavy, no ſhelter againſt them having been provided in New Spain, from a belief founded on the continual drought during Otondo's entrance, that it never rained in California.

At length the inſolence and hatred of the Indians increaſing every day, and their wicked deſigns being evident, from ſeveral accidents of leſs importance, on the 13th of November, being the feſtival of ſaint Staniſlaus Koſca, the Indians of the four nations or branches met, in order to ſtrike the deciſive blow.

That they might fall upon our people at a diſadvantage, ſome of them came to the camp about noon whilſt they were eating; the centinel was for keeping them off, but to no purpoſe, and one of the boldeſt cloſed with him, and took away the ſtaff, which ſerved him for a halbert. On the centinel's calling out, Tortolero run up, and wreſted the ſtaff from the Indian; an act of boldneſs, which ſtruck the company ſo, that they retreated; but ſoon after, our men were alarmed with the outcries of the Indian Alonſo de Tepahui, who kept the few hogs and ſheep, in a valley overgrown with ruſhes and flags, and who was aſſaulted by another party; however by immediate aſ-

ſiſtance,

ſiſtance, the creatures were brought ſafe within the camp. This attempt was ſucceeded by a ſhower of ſtones and arrows from five hundred Indians, who came up divided into four companies, that they might attack the camp on each ſide. One only of the friendly Californians remained within the camp, where the little garriſon, conſiſting only of ten men, was obliged to divide itſelf on all the four ſides. Tortolero, who acted as captain, choſe the moſt dangerous poſt, which faced the lower part of the valley, together with Bartholomew de Robles; the oppoſite ſide was defended by the Indian Alonſo de Tepahui, and Juan the mulatto of Peru; on that ſide which looked toward the ſhore, ſtood the Indian Marcos Guazavas, a man of great boldneſs and activity. On the remaining ſide was Eſtevan Rodrigues a Portugueſe. Juan Caravana, the Malteſe, who had ſerved in the Philippine ſhip, had the care of the paderero, which was placed at the gate of the camp; and not far from him was poſted Nicholas Marques a Sicilian, who likewiſe had ſome knowledge of gunnery, that he might be nearer at hand to aſſiſt him. The father and Sebaſtian his Indian, remained in the center, in order to go where there ſhould be moſt occaſion. And now the companies of the four nations, began to advance with dreadful ſhoutings

ings and outcries, toward the four ſides; but they were repulſed by the extraordinary vigour of our men, and with little loſs to the aſſailants. Father Salva-Tierra having deſired that they might not be fired upon ſo as to be killed, till matters came to the laſt extremity, they ſeveral times in a confuſed manner, renewed the action for two hours, without gaining any advantage, throwing ſtones and earth againſt the two ſides of the trench; but unexpectedly the whole body retreated and the action ceaſed. Our people imagined that the enemy had repented of their injurious treatment, or gave over all hopes of gaining any advantage; but half an hour had not paſſed, when they returned to the aſſault with greater fury, and every company reinforced with freſh men. Now it was that our men, though they had performed prodigies of valour, found themſelves ſo cloſely preſſed, that the captain ordered Caravana to diſcharge the paderero, but this which was the chief hope for terrifying, by deſtroying the Indians, burſt to pieces and flew about the camp, though providentially with no other damage, than knocking down the Malteſe, ſo that for ſome time he remained ſenſeleſs; and likewiſe without doing any execution among the Indians. This misfortune inſpired the Indians with freſh courage, and the company againſt

againſt which it had been leveled ſent notice to the others, that ſince the paderero did not kill, they might be ſure that the little pieces would not. This they were perſuaded of, as our people, by order of the father, fired in the air. The attack cloſed ſo on every ſide, that the captain thought it high time to give orders for firing on the enemy; yet this was, what even at ſuch an extremity father Salva-Tierra could not bear, that running towards the moſt forward entreating, urging, threatening them that they would retire, and not ruſh on certain death. He was anſwered by three arrows ſhot at him, but which miſſed him. On this he withdrew, and the Indians on every ſide began to drop: though the dead and wounded amounted to no great number, as terrified with the effects of the firing, they ſoon betook themſelves precipitately to their rancherias.

However the prudent apprehenſions of a ſecond attack, would not admit of our men to abate of their vigilance. But they ſoon perceived ſome meſſengers of peace approaching: the firſt was the Indian caſique, who was permitted to come within the camp, and who with tears aſſured our men, that it was thoſe of the neighbouring rancheria under him, who had firſt formed the plot, and on account of the paucity of their numbers, had ſpirited up the other nations;

tons; adding, that thoſe being irritated by the death of their companions, were for revenging them: but that both the one and the other, ſincerely repented of their attempt. A little while after came the women with their children, mediating a peace as is the cuſtom of the country. They ſat down weeping at the gate of the camp with a thouſand promiſes of amendment, and offering to give up their children as hoſtages for the performance. Father Salva-Tierra heard them with his uſual mildneſs, ſhewing them the wickedneſs of the procedure; and if their huſbands would behave better, promiſed them peace, an amneſty, and a forgetfulneſs of all that was paſt: he alſo diſtributed among them ſeveral little preſents, and to remove any miſtruſt they might have, he took one of the children in hoſtage, and thus they returned in high ſpirits to the rancherias. At night ſolemn thanks were returned to God, his moſt holy mother and St. Staniſlaus, for his manifold favours. Indeed without a ſignal aſſiſtance of the God of armies, it ſeems impoſſible, that ten men got together from ſeveral parts, could have withſtood the furious aſſaults of 500 ſavages. It was alſo obſerved, that moſt of the arrows ſtuck in the pedeſtal of the croſs, whilſt both it and the tent, which ſerved for the chapel, were untouched.

untouched. When enquiry was made about the wounds received, it appeared, that of the ten amidſt ſuch ſhowers of arrows only two had received any wounds: theſe were Tortolero and Figueroa; but their wounds were ſo ſlight as not to hinder their fighting: and they concealed them from the Indians, waiting till it was night before they made their caſe known to their companions. If there was here cauſe for pity, was there not likewiſe much greater for wonder. They adored the holy croſs as the ſtandard of faith; they ſung ave to our lady as their captain, and unanimouſly determined to remain in that country; though as they apprehended the long-boat ſhould be loſt, and the galliot never return.

All the garriſon that night reſted, except the father Juan Maria: and in the morning as he was preparing to ſay a thankſgiving maſs to Nueſtra Sennora de Loretto, the centinel cried out a ſail, a ſail. This drew out all the company, and in a little time they perceived it to be the long-boat with proviſions coming into the bay, and firing ſeveral guns; and the general joy was increaſed by the accounts on both ſides. As to themſelves the long boat's people ſaid, that after loſing ſight of the galliot in the firſt voyage, they had for ſome time beat up and down to no purpoſe in queſt of her, till it was

thought adviſeable to return to the river Hiaqui. Concerning the galliot, they ſaid ſhe would ſoon be there with the remainder of the people and proviſions; for having run a-ground on the coaſt of Hiaqui, father Diego Marquina, had on his knees entreated the Indians to aſſiſt in getting her off; which being done, ſhe went into the harbour to repair and take in her cargo. Father Salva-Tierra, elevated by the victory, and this freſh ſupply, began to ſettle every thing; he reaſſumed his exerciſe of catechiſing, maiz was now again boiled for the neighbouring Indians, and the garriſon's former friends, who one after another came to the camp with poor excuſes; after a ſhort reproof, in order to leave no ſuſpicion on them, they were all uſed very kindly, had the ſame preſents given them, and were treated with the moſt open affection. The conſpirators of the neighbouring rancheria of don Dionyſio, were ſoon obliged to come and humble themſelves at the camp; for the Monquis regreting the death of their companions in the action, had determined to fall on them as the firſt authors of their diſaſter; that now their only recourſe was to come to the Spaniards, bringing all their arms to the camp, as a ſign of friendſhip and ſubmiſſion. They aſked leave that they might ſettle near it: and they were permitted to make a ſecond trench

for

for defending themſelves. In this neighbourhood of the camp, the Monquis did not dare to attack them, and father Juan Maria reconciled the two nations; and they both continued coming to the camp very quietly.

The father availed himſelf of this tranquillity, to conſecrate to God the firſt fruits of California; the firſt and moſt ſolemn was that of the ſick caſique before mentioned, and two days before the aſſault. He was of the territory of San Bruno; and at the time of admiral Otondo's expedition, had learned the elements of the faith, and deſired baptiſm: his deſeaſe was a dreadful cancer, the progreſs of which, God in mercy checked, till the arrival of the venerable father. The caſique delayed not a moment to come to him from San Bruno: and on his arrival at the camp, he called out, as well as he could, Senior Almirante. He was immediately admitted and kindly entertained: he prayed by name for the fathers who had been in the country before, and likewiſe for ſome ſoldiers. He gave the greateſt ſigns of candor and fidelity, and expreſſed an extreme deſire of being baptized. As from his former knowledge he ſoon went through his previous inſtruction; and the danger of the cancer increaſing, he was baptiſed on the 11th of November. Now he no leſs earneſtly requeſted,

that baptiſm ſhould be conferred on his two ſons; one of four years of age, and the other eight. The firſt was immediately received; and the ſecond, after being duly inſtructed in the articles of chriſtianity, was baptized the 14th day after the victory. The caſique's former name was Ibo, which in his language ſignifies the ſun; but he was chriſtened by that of Manuel Bernardo, and the ſon was called Bernado Manuel, in compliance with the devout deſire of their excellencies the vice-roys; that thoſe two names ſhould be given to the firſt chriſtians of California. Ibo himſelf died in the ſame month of October with great ſigns of tranquility, praiſing and adoring the unſearchable diſpenſations of God. Likewiſe two other children were baptized under the name of Juan and Pedro, in memory of don Juan Cavalero y Ozio, and don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, as diſtinguiſhing benefactors to the miſſion. The 5th baptiſm was that of an Indian wounded in the action, whom the ſoldiers by a very ſingular accident, or rather by the diſpoſition of the moſt high, found alone in a hut. Being inſtructed with the diſpatch which his danger required, he with great anxiety deſired to be baptized: and, as if that had been all he wanted, he that ſame night reſigned up his ſoul,

to

to the inexpreſſible edification and comfort of all belonging to the camp.

Matters without being thus compoſed, the venerable father gave orders concerning the garriſon. Having aſſembled the ſoldiers, likewiſe the people of the long boat, he read to them the vice-roy's inſtructions; and informed them both of their immunities and privileges, and likewiſe their ſeveral duties and obligations. He nominated don Luis de Torres Tortolero, captain, and other inferior officers, and regulated the diſtribution of devotional exerciſes and works; and laſtly gave notice, that on the following Saturday, they ſhould all meet to hear an example, and an exhortation to devotion, in imitation of the virtues of the moſt holy Mary, as likewiſe on all future ſabbaths, according to the excellent uſage introduced into ſeveral parts of New Spain, by the reverend ſociety. This devout homage was ſo acceptable to the holy mother, that on the ſaid ſabbath-day, the 23d of November, ſhe was pleaſed to ſolace them in the manner related by the ſame father at the end of the narrative of the entrance. "A great addition, ſays he, to our comfort, was that on laſt Saturday, when the examples in honour of the moſt holy Mary, and her holy houſe of Loretto, began to be ſettled in this country, ſince the performance of

the firſt example, we ſaw appear at the mouth of the ſea, betwixt the iſland of Coronandes and the point of this bay, the galliot which with a fair wind, after two days ſailing, drop'd anchor on the ſame ſabbath near our camp. Our joy at this ſight was the greater, when we came to know that it brought father Franciſco Maria Piccolo, a veteran miſſionary, who after having been viſitor, and founded churches for miſſions among the Tarahumares, who remained faithful, with pleaſure reſigned that office to enter on another converſion no leſs ſignal among theſe our poor Californian ſavages. I cannot expreſs the comfort his coming gave me, not ſo much for my own perſon, as the concerns of the Spaniards and Indians: as now the advancement of this converſion, has an appearance of certainty; and that henceforth the ſtandard of Chriſt will not be removed from theſe countries; and that the great ſettler Mary, will lay the foundations of her holy houſe among her elect."

It was now time to ſend ſome account of California to New Spain, which was impatient to hear of the progreſs of this conqueſt. Likewiſe the galliot being only lent, juſtice required her to be immediately returned to her owner. Accordingly father Salva-Tierra ordered the captain to prepare for returning to Acapulco,

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and in the mean time he wrote to the principal benefactors of the miſſion. His letters breathed ſuch an apoſtolick ſpirit; ſuch mildneſs, love, humility and gratitude, that four of them were then printed, which were it not for the apprehenſion of being tedious by repetition, we would very willingly have here inſerted, one to the viceroy, and the other to his lady donna Maria Andrea Guzman y Manrique, a diſtinguiſhed protectreſs of the enterprize; a ſhort letter to don Juan de Cavalero y Ozio; and another containing a very circumſtantial narrative, to father Ugarte. In the letter to the viceroy, this excellent man ſhews, that he is not unmindful of making what returns he can for any benefits received, in thanks, in praiſes and recommendations to the divine favour of the benefactors, the commanders, the ſoldiers, and of all others to whom he was in any meaſure indebted. He likewiſe requeſted that an account of the whole ſhould be remitted to the moſt reverend father Tyrſo Gonzales, general of the order, his majeſty Charles II. and his ſupreme council of the Indies: that his majeſty might by his orders and protection, promote the ſpiritual conqueſt. But the difficulties which occurred in this affair and its iſſue, ſhall be afterwards related.

SECT. III.

Tranſactions of the two firſt years, with the attempts to enter the inward part of CALIFORNIA, till the ſettlement of the ſecond miſſion of St. Xavier.

There being nothing further to be apprehended from the Indians, the ſeveral members of the little garriſon, encouraged by the two fathers, applied themſelves to erect ſome little works of defence and buildings within the camp; the trench was enlarged and fortified with a palliſade, and thorny branches of trees; a chapel for placing our lady in, was alſo built of ſtone and clay, with a thatch'd roof: beſides three little dwellings; one for the fathers, another for the captain, and the third ſerved as a magazine. Near theſe alſo were built barracks for the ſoldiers. Chriſtmas day was appointed for the dedication of the chapel, which was performed with ſix maſſes and great rejoicings. Soon after, the long-boat was ſent away to Cinaloa, with letters for the miſſionary jeſuits of that province, to ſend in two returns what proviſions they could, and five ſoldiers to aſſiſt in the works; whilſt the fathers were taken up in learning the language, and promoting the inſtruction and reduction of the Indians.

dians. Within a few months the importance of this reinforcement was ſeen in a kind of battle in a plain field; our men being no longer pent up in the camp: the occaſion of it was as follows. The Indians by attending daily at the explication of the catechiſm became at length perſuaded, that the end of this entrance of the Spaniards, was not to fiſh or procure pearls, as they did neither; but to plant in California a new religion, the myſteries of which they were learning; but this was the very thing which alarmed the ſorcerers or primitive doctors of their nation, who ſtill retained their authority over theſe ſavages; and when afterwards they perceived their power, and conſequently their wretched profits to decline, they one and all with an infernal rage openly declared againſt the new doctrine and the ſtrangers. What had been heard of in the camp was talked of in companies, and at the rancherias, that by degrees ſome inclining to the fathers, and others by the ſeductions of their maſters being tenacious of their ancient cuſtoms, there aroſe among them two religious factions. The ſorcerers omitted nothing to inflame the rancour of their party; and as father Salva-Tierra had not been able to bring with him the chriſtian Indians, whom admiral Otondo had carried from California, the ſorcerers made a handle

dle of it for diſſeminating all over the country, that the Spaniards came only to take them away and carry them to their country: and this apparent breach of faith occaſioned vehement complaints. The diſquietude was with great induſtry fomented, but clandeſtinely, till in April, 1698, they broke out into open hoſtilities, by an inſult which our people little expected.

A boat left by the galliot had come up the bay near the long-boat. The malecontents formed a deſign of ſtealing it, either for their fiſhery, or only by way of beginning the war. For this they took the opportunity of the time when our people were at dinner, as it was impoſſible for two men left in the long-boat to hinder them: one of them, however, haſtened to the camp with advice of what had been done. On this captain Tortolero with 12 others well armed, marched down, and keeping along the coaſt, they ſaw at a diſtance the Indians in two bodies; one in the boat, and a greater number on the ſhore. Of the latter, ſome advanced to ſtop him by ſkirmiſhes, and the others having got the boat aſhore, broke it to pieces with huge ſtones, and then fled into the woods. When our men came up, the damage was found beyond repair: and as the perpetrators of this inſult were not to be found, they reſolved to go

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in queſt of them all along the ſhore. They divided themſelves into two companies, who were to meet at a point of land which runs into the ſea. In this ſearch, Figueroa with three ſoldiers and a faithful Californian, following a path, fell into an ambuſh of above 50 Indians, who immediately diſcharged ſtones and arrows; our men briſkly fired, and turning alſo ſeveral evolutions that they might not be hem'd in, the Californian haſtened away to the captain, who by the noiſe of the ſea, and the wind which was very high, could not hear the muſkets. The four military men bravely ſtood their ground againſt ſuch a vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy, which was continually encreaſing. The intrepid Figueroa had his lip cut by a ſtone, and another ſoldier was wounded by an arrow. Through the dread of the muſkets, but chiefly through the goodneſs of God, and the patronneſs of the miſſion of our lady of Loretto, the Indians were diſcouraged from their attempt of taking them alive. The ammunition of our men began to fail them, juſt as the captain and the other five ſoldiers came up; the number of the Indians had increaſed to above a hundred, all fighting with the utmoſt deſpair. At length after ſeveral attacks, when our people were in the extremity of danger, night coming on, the Indians ſounded a retreat by their whiſtles, leaving,

leaving, as they afterwards owned ſome ſlain and more wounded. This victory, which all attributed to our lady's patronage, for which a ſolemn thankſgiving was appointed, contributed greatly to humble the factious, who gradually began to return again to the camp, mingling themſelves among the friendly Indians. The captain was for making an example of ſome, but the fathers interpoſed; and the inſurgents giving a proof of their repentance and humiliation, by bringing to the camp the pieces of the boat, a general pardon was publiſhed.

The holy week was celebrated with profound tranquillity, and to the inexpreſſible amazement and delight of the Indians: and a little after, the long-boat was ſent to Rio Hiaqui for a ſupply, which it might bring, whilſt that of cloaths, furniture, and eatables, which had been applied for at Mexico was coming, as it was expected ſome day in April. The long-boat departed, and the fathers with freſh zeal applied themſelves to the inſtruction of the Californians, and likewiſe to learn their language: for the greater conveniency of doing this, and as a ſecurity againſt the fickleneſs of the Indians, father Piccolo took upon him to inſtruct the boys and girls, whom he cauſed to come within the entrenchment, whilſt, without it, father Salva-

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Tierra inſtructed the adults: and by this mild meaſure, they had their ſons as ſo many hoſtages. Thus the harveſt of the goſpel went on ripening, with the knowledge, patience, and labour, which particularly manifeſted itſelf; when by degrees the Indians abſented themſelves, during the month of June, the gathering of the pitahayas then beginning, and this is alſo the time of their greateſt merriment. "We were all extremely concerned at this retreat, ſays father Salva-Tierra, the harveſt now beginning to ripen, after ſeven months and more of continued inſtruction, that to ſee and hear them afforded exceeding pleaſure. Such boys and girls as were catechumens, and had been inſtructed in the prayer of the holy croſs, and other parts of devotion, drew tears from me and others: particularly a boy called Juanico Cavalero, not yet quite four years of age, who with his little ſhell on his head and his wand in his hand, conducted the queſtions, putting his little finger to his mouth when any one talked, or did not mind, or any two were fighting, which extremely moved us. Sometimes he would take the roſaries, and the reliquaries of the ſoldiers, then fall on his knees and devoutly kiſs them, and put them to his little eyes, and bid all the Spaniards do the like: ſo that if any one did not take notice of him,

him, it vexed him to ſuch a degree, that he was not to be quieted till he fell on his knees, and kiſſed either a crucifix or reliquary, whilſt all bleſſed the devout importunity of the child.

God rewarded the labour of the fathers with the joy of baptiſing ſome adults and children in caſes of neceſſity, where in ſpite of the rage of the evil ſpirit, by means of the ſorcerers, many remarkable and rare inſtances were ſeen of the divine mercy: but all the intreaties of ſome adults, could not prevail upon the fathers to confer baptiſm upon them, from an apprehenſion and of their fickleneſs, that they ſhould be obliged to forſake the miſſion.

Beſides the concern at the abſence of the Indians, the camp began to feel one more intereſting, the fear of periſhing for want of neceſſaries. It was now above two months ſince the long-boat had been gone, that all gave it over for loſt, eſpecially as the weather had lately been very tempeſtuous. There was little account of the ſuccours applied for at Mexico; and ſuch was their neceſſity, that in the middle of June, all the ſtore was reduced to three ſacks of meal, ill-ground, and three others of maize, which was full of maggots while it was aboard the veſſel.

The conſternation was ſo general and great, that even father Salva-Tierra begins the narrative, which

which was to accompany the letter already mentioned, in theſe words, "I write this narrative, uncertain whether I ſhall live to make an end of it, for at my preſent writing, our neceſſity for want of ſupplies is very general: and as they will every day grow upon us, and I am the moſt advanced in years of all in the camp of our lady of Loretto, I ſhall naturally pay the firſt tribute." But the moſt admirable circumſtance is, that among ſo many labours and dangers, the fathers were able to keep the people of the camp in order, being compoſed of ſo many different nations, and moſt of them before, ſo licentious in their lives. Whereas, now though they were twenty-two in number, not a quarrel nor an oath, nor any ill word was heard among them. So far from it, that they never failed to attend the devotional exerciſes, and encouraged each other chearfully to die in that diſtreſs, and very devoutly aſſiſted at a devotion for nine days, which the fathers appointed for imploring the aſſiſtance of the patroneſs of the miſſion. Having heard a ſermon againſt ſwearing, that vice ſo common among ſoldiers and ſeamen, the two claſſes of which the camp conſiſted, that in a certain city of Germany, he who ſwears is made to pay a fine, they unanimouſly agreed to lay a like penalty to be deducted from their pay, and at a proper

per opportunity to be ſpent in an entertainment. Some of the ſoldiers were treaſurers, and on any one's ſwearing, the others encompaſſed him like bees, demanding the fine. This in time put an end to all ſwearing and imprecations, and would to God the like practice obtained in all garriſons.

The nine days devotion were now drawing near to a concluſion, and they now alſo ſaw the end of their proviſions; when on the 21ſt of June, being the feſtival of San Luis Gonzaga, a large new bark, called the San Joſeph, came from Chacala, under the command of an inhabitant of Compoſtella, by whom father Ugarte ſent all the ſuccours he was able; and ſeven ſoldiers volunteers, who went to ſerve in the garriſon. They were received with inexpreſſible joy, and ſolemn thanks returned to God, the patroneſs of Loretto, and her beloved ſon San Luis. And as the long-boat was ſuppoſed to be loſt, father Salva-Tierra was for treating with the owner about the boat. The latter was very deſirous of it, having by experience of this voyage, been acquainted with its ill qualities. He alſo acted very fraudulently in the contract, which at laſt was concluded for twelve thouſand dollars, to be paid in Mexico by father Ugarte, father Juan Maria having no money by him. It was not long before the abominable deceit of the

the owner was found out, that ſix thouſand dollars more were expended in fitting it for the ſea: beſides the loſs of a whole cargo, the firſt voyage, and on a ſecond having been ſtranded at Acapulco, was ſold for five hundred dollars, after coſting eighteen thouſand, a very conſiderable loſs to the miſſion. The want of a veſſel was ſupplied by the treaſurer don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, who very opportunately ſent to father Juan Maria, a bark called San Fermin, and likewiſe a long-boat, called San Xavier, of which immediate uſe was made, to fetch wood and fruits from Chacala and Metanchel, and proviſions from Yaqui, Ahome, Guaymas, and other ports; alſo ſome mares, horſes, and cattle, ſent by don Auguſtin Eucinas, an illuſtrious benefactor to the miſſion, from its commencement, and whoſe pious liberality has deſcended to his ſon don Miguel.

The fathers being now pretty well acquainted with the language of California, and having horſes for the more convenient ſurvey of a country ſo rugged and poor, came to a reſolution of performing it by ſeveral ways. In the beginning of the year 1699, father Juan Maria, accompanied by ſome ſoldiers, firſt went northward toward a place called Londo, nine leagues diſtant from Loretto, and where there was a numerous rancheria. The venerable father ſeveral

times ſent the Indians notice of his intended viſit, but their fears were not to be removed. At his approaching the place, they all immediately made off, and though he and his attendants called to them, and ſtaid two days in expectation of them, he had the mortification to return without ſeeing them. When they came to the camp, he complained to them of ſuch a behaviour, allayed their fears, and in ſpring going again to viſit them, he called the place San Juan Baptiſta, inſtructed them in the myſteries of the faith, talked kindly to them, diſtributed little preſents among them, and took a view of the ground, and alſo of the water near it, in order for ſowing.

Among others who came down to the camp, were ſome Indians of a part called Vigge Biaundo, lying ſouth of Loretto, behind ſome rugged mountains, and which was ſaid to be very fit for paſture and tillage. Theſe ſhewed themſelves ſo tractable and friendly, and particularly ſo deſirous of converſion, that a youth among them of a remarkable vivacity, genius, and goodneſs of temper, was admitted to baptiſm, by the name of Franciſco Xavier, though this privilege was denied to adults. Hither father Piccolo went on the 10th of May, and after ſuffering a great deal in a journey without any road, and the ſoldiers fearing to venture any

any farther, he determined to go alone among the civilized Indians; and having got over the precipices on foot, he came to a breach where was the rancheria, and was received with the moſt cordial demonſtrations of love. He remained among them four days inſtructing them, and with great pleaſure heard that the new chriſtian Franciſco Xavier, conformably to his name, uſed to do the like, and this name was alſo given to the rancheria. Some Indians from ſeveral rancherias of that chain of mountains came thither; and others from the weſtern parts, who gave an account of the oppoſite, or outward coaſt, which is waſhed by the South-ſea. The father took a view of the whole valley, and found in it ſome ſpots fit for tillage, whither water might be conveyed, and likewiſe fruit trees planted; beſides good paſtures for their cattle and horſes. They returned to the camp, and croſſed the chain of mountains in a more difficult part: but at the foot of them, they found their horſes ſafely guarded by ſome faithful Indians; and one day more along a ſhorter way carried them to Loretto. Eight days after, father Salva-Tierra went a ſecond time to San Juan de Londo, at the requeſt of the Indians, who informed him that ſeveral rancherias of the Liyu language, and others of

the Cochimi nation would repair thither to hear the doctrine of the gospel.

As there was a want of beasts to carry the provisions, the chief men among the Monqui Indians strove who should be most forward in offering to carry the sacks, not more in order to come in for a share in the contents, than to avail themselves of this occasion, for procuring a reconciliation with the Cochimes, who were very much incensed against them, for the death of a youth, who had become a christian by the name of Andrew, and was very much beloved by the fathers. He preached to them all, and having entered into friendship with them, went to another rancheria, three leagues farther, in quest of another very faithful Indian called Nicholas, and at that time sick. The greatest part of this rancheria also fled; to those who remained, the father's behaviour was very courteous and winning. But at his return to Londo, he found the minds of the Indians rankled, both on account of the sermon, and the revival of the hatred against the Monquis, during his absence. Matters came to the point of an open rupture, and the father's mule was wounded with an arrow, whilst he was baptizing and administring the chrism to eight children: and the Monquis stole part of the baggage. At length by the father's endeavours, both parties were

were quieted; and they all returned to Loretto, chearfully aſſiſting to level ſome aſperities in the way, which otherwiſe would have been impracticable to the beaſts.

The country of Vigge was juſtly an object of greater attention, as much more fit and convenient for founding a ſecond miſſion, and therefore greatly deſired, the only difficulty being the ruggedneſs and ſteepneſs of the way: ſo as to be extremely difficult to men on foot, but quite unpaſſable to beaſts. However the ſoldiers animated by father Piccolo, and aſſiſted by the Indians, by dint of very hard labour, opened a way of a ſufficient breadth, betwixt the precipices of the mountain, that on the 12th of June it began to be frequented. He paſſed along it on horſe-back to the country of San Franciſco Xavier. Near this ſpot was a very high hill, which the captain, with two other ſoldiers determined to go up, in order to take a view of the country, which proved a work of great difficulty, on account of the craggineſs and many brambles intermixed with the precipices: but when they reached the ſummit, they were very far from repenting of their labour, as on both ſides it not only afforded them a large view of the country, but likewiſe of the two ſeas, that of California and the South ſea; that in their firſt extacies, they fired their pieces for joy. The

reports alarmed their companions, who fearing ſome ambuſh, were haſtening to aſſiſt them. But being informed at a diſtance of the cauſe, they ran with the news to father Piccolo, who after he had renewed his inſtructions to the Indians, and aſſured them of his conſtant affection, returned with the whole company to Loretto, by the ſame way.

At this time don Luis de Torres Tortolero, captain of the garriſon, labouring under a continual defluxion in his eyes, contracted by his fatigues in the new conqueſt, laid down his employment, to the great concern of the venerable father Juan Maria; for to his courage, prudence, and religion, the eſtabliſhment of the miſſions was not a little owing. The father nominated as his ſucceſſor, don Antonio Garcia de Mendoza, an old ſoldier of Fuenterabia: and beſides certificates of the higheſt praiſes, he gave to don Luis, letters of recommendation to the audience of Guadalaxara, that they would be pleaſed to beſtow ſome comfortable government on ſo deſerving a perſon: a cuſtom which the grateful father never failed in towards thoſe who behaved well. The reſt of the ſummer of 1699, beſides other journeys of leſs notice, the fathers ſpent in their uſual apoſtolick functions, in preparing a new and large chapel in the camp of Loretto, for our lady, and likewiſe in laying

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the foundations in a convenient place, about one hundred paces from the garriſon for a church, which though ſmall in itſelf, was large and ſplendid for that country; and likewiſe of an apartment for the miſſionary. Theſe buildings and others which were carrying on for the conveniency of the garriſon, and in which the fathers were directors, officers, and labourers, advanced but ſlowly, on account of ſome intervening impediments. The chapel within the camp, was dedicated the following year, and the church five years after, namely, in 1704. The bleſſed virgin highly approved of the cordial devotion of her ſervant Salva-Tierra, who had communicated the ſame holy flame to every heart in the garriſon; and nouriſhed it with the religious ſervices every Saturday. That moſt bountiful queen was pleaſed to manifeſt her ſingular protection of this her little flock, as was moſt ſenſibly experienced in the greateſt extremities with the circumſtance of delivering them from their diſtreſs, on the Saturdays, which they ſanctified with offices of devotion to her. The very Saturday when they had come to a reſolution of building the church and chapel, and were aſſiſting at the offices of the roſary, the litanies, the ſermon, and example; the Indians ſuddenly cried out puha, puha, which in their language ſignifies a ſhip or veſſel; and it pro-

ved to be a galliot from don Pedro Gil y de la Sierpe, which ſeaſonably brought a very large quantity of proviſions, ſent by him and the preſident of Guadalaxara. It alſo cauſed a great ſatisfaction to find that all the bills which had been drawn by the ſoldiers, had been anſwered at Mexico, father Ugarte having tranſmitted the particulars, in an account drawn up by himſelf.

With this reinforcement, father Piccolo thought it proper no longer to delay ſettling a new miſſion at San Xavier de Viaundo, leaving father Salva-Tierra at Loretto, and he himſelf going to live with the Indians, in the center of the Vigge mountains, Accordingly, in the beginning of October, he removed thither attended by ſome ſoldiers, with the help of whom, and his new ſons, the Indian mountaineers, he built ſome ſmall houſes, or cottages of andoves or raw bricks, as dwellings for himſelf and his companions, and likewiſe a chapel of the ſame materials. Whilſt theſe were drying, he and father Mendoza with ſome ſoldiers, and guided by the Indians, ſet out to view the oppoſite coaſt of the South ſea, which admiral Otondo ſo famed for his naval atchievements, had in vain attempted. At the diſtance of four leagues South Weſt, they came to a large rancheria of tractable Indians, which father Piccolo conſe-

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crated to his countrywoman Roſalia. After this, they followed a little ſtream, which brought them down to the ſea; here along the ſhore, they ſaw great numbers of thoſe azure ſhells ſo very famous, but without finding, though they went a great way along the coaſt, any place proper for a ſettlement; nor bay, creek, or harbour, for receiving the galleon from the Philippine Iſlands, as was ſo extremely deſired by the merchants and government. In their return they renewed their friendſhip with the Indians of San Roſalia, inviting them to come to San Xavier, whence word was ſent to father Salva-Tierra, that he would be pleaſed to come and conſecrate the chapel on All-ſaints day, when the want of ſolemnity and magnificence, was made up by devotion and joy.

SECT. IV.

The difficulties which happened at the commencement of the preſent century, and the unfortunate management of the affairs of the miſſion in MEXICO.

Amidſt this mixture of good and bad fortune, commenced the preſent century 1700; but this brought with it ſuch ſtorms of calamities to the miſſion in California, which now began to

to put on a promiſing appearance as muſt have totally deſtroyed and extinguiſhed it, had it not been founded upon the lofty mountains of the virgin, and under her particular countenance and protection. The number of ſettlers already in California, Spaniards, Meſtizos, and New-Spain Indians, amounted to no leſs than ſix hundred perſons. But on account of this very increaſe, as no ſubſiſtence had hitherto been obtained from the country, very large ſupplies of proviſions were rendered of abſolute neceſſity, The ſhipping of the miſſion at this time, conſiſted of two veſſels, called the San Joſeph and San Fermin, and the San Xavier long-boat. The Spaniards hitherto had behaved quietly and contentedly, in their ſubordination to the fathers; and might reaſonably expect proper favours from the government of Mexico, and large ſuccours from good chriſtians, for the ſupport and enlargement of a conqueſt, which had been ſo paſſionately deſired, and ſo frequently attempted at an immenſe charge. But God to try the conſtancy of his faithful miniſters, permitted things to take a gloomy turn. The San Joſeph, as we have before noticed, became a dead weight on the miſſion, involving it in expences for uſeleſs repairs, till the utter loſs of it. The San Fermin by the careleſſneſs of the pilots, ran aground near the harbour of Ahome,

and

and for want of assistance through the baseness of the seamen and officers, hoping greater profits from the building a new vessel, the violence of the waves beat it to pieces in the beginning of the year. Thus the San Xavier's long-boat only remained: and that so battered and weakened by bad weather that it was with great hazard that father Salva-Tierra, having left the care of the garrison to father Piccolo, reached Cinaloa in it, where he heard of the loss of the San Fermin. At Cinaloa he used all possible diligence towards a speedy remedy: but meeting here with some difficulties, he resolved as his last resource to apply himself to the viceroy.

Father Juan Maria, had from the very beginning, sent an account of the proceedings to his excellency. In the two first years he had also transmitted other letters, in which were intermixed most humble requests for his protection: and on the first of March of this year, he drew up in California a long memorial to the royal council, signed by the fathers and thirty-five others: in which he succinctly relates all that had happened in the conquest and present condition of it; sets forth the wants under which it laboured; specifies the several expences made in the expedition, and the impossibility of the garrison's being supported by casual contributions,

tions, especially, as they were now sensibly felt to decline. He earnestly requests the royal protection, that the fruit of so many labours may not be lost: he desires that the garrison may be paid on the king's account, as all the others on the frontiers were; and if this be not done, he protests against the damages which will be the consequence of his forsaking the mission: concluding, that his companion Piccolo and he, were determined to persevere in it, though left alone and exposed to certain death from the hands of the savages. At Cinaloa he composed another memorial to the viceroy, setting forth the damages sustained by the San Joseph; the loss of the San Fermin; the weak condition of the long-boat, though now the garrison's only vehicle; and the imminent danger, that in the interim the settlers would miserably perish for want; and this at a time when they all had been indulging themselves in the pleasing hopes of the entire submission of that large country to the saving yoke of the faith and the dominion of his catholick majesty. He therefore requested that he would bestow upon California a vessel, which a little before had been by warrant, allowed to some Peru traders at Acapulco. The viceroy was not pleased to give himself the trouble of answering the father's first letters; and though father Ugarte very much sollicited

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to have them read in a general aſſembly; all that he could obtain was only a verbal mention of them. The effect of this, was, that a thouſand crowns were appointed for the expences of the miſſion: but father Ugarte declined receiving it, as utterly diſproportionate to the exigency, though it would at the ſame time put a ſtop to all the contributions of the benefactors. He alſo ſhewed that a few years before 30000 dollars per annum had been offered to the ſociety to take the enterprize upon themſelves: and that the greateſt part of it being already accompliſhed, it did not become the government ſo ſoon to depart from thoſe principles, by which its reſolutions were at that time directed. But theſe and other ſtrenuous repreſentations met with ſuch a cold reception, that for the two firſt years, not the leaſt proviſion was made for the ſupport of the miſſion.

The more recent memorials concerning the veſſel and garriſon, far from having a better effect, were attacked by a moſt atrocious calumny, that the loſs of the San Fermin was no other than a trick of the jeſuits, in order to have a fingering of the king's money. It muſt indeed be a heart armed with the impenetrable ſhield of faith, and inflamed with a deſire of its propagation, to bear up againſt ſuch a combination of difficulties. But it would not be the

cauſe

cauſe of God, did it not deſerve to be maintained and proſecuted, no leſs under diſcouragement and ſhame, than under proſperity and reputation. Father Salva-Tierra, more to remove this vile objection, than from any care of himſelf, ſent five letters from the treaſurer of Guadalaxara, and other perſons of diſtinction, certifying the loſs of the veſſel. Theſe indeed deſtroyed the calumny; but did not create any deſires of ſupplying the wants. The papers were referred to the ſollicitor, who after long delays, required a ſight of the licences, by virtue of which the fathers had firſt gone over to California, and in his report, he laboured to prove that by them the fathers had no claim on the revenue. This difficulty alſo was overcome by ſhewing the alteration of circumſtances, and the difference betwixt the attempt of a conqueſt, and the preſervation of what has been conquered: and after long debates, the caſe was ordered to be referred to the viceroy, the reſolution belonging to him only. The urgency of the wants required all poſſible diſpatch in this; yet all that could be obtained, was an offer to tranſmit an account of the matter to court, and wait his majeſty's reſolution: and as for the Peruvian veſſel, it was ordered, that if father Ugarte would enter into a bond to pay the value of it, on the repeal of the grant, it

ſhould

ſhould be delivered up for the ſervice of California, but not otherwiſe. This, the father was by no means able to do; ſo that neither the veſſel, nor even its boat were given; nor was it ſo much as permitted, that the galliot of don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, now dead, ſhould be lent to carry over the ſuccours which had been procured. Certificates of their ſervices were required, in order to ſeek for redreſs at court, but were denied: and thus the only recourſe left to the beſt friends of mankind was patience and chriſtian fortitude.

The viceroy had in May 1698, and in October 1699, laid before his majeſty in his council of the Indies, an account of the enterprize in California. Theſe accounts were very acceptable, and large ſuccours were promiſed, eſpecially through the zealous ſollicitation of that moſt excellent lady the counteſs of Galves donna Alvira de Toledo, who had been vice-queen at Mexico; and who intereſted herſelf in the happy iſſue of this undertaking. However by the death of this lady, and the agitations into which the illneſs of king Charles II. threw the court, as with that prince it was apprehended the monarchy itſelf would expire, and much more by his deceaſe which happened on the 1ſt of November, 1700, no manner of proviſion was made for California.

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The acceſſion of Philip V. inſpired new life and vigor into the languid body of the ſtate: and though the third report, which the viceroy had promiſed to ſend, had not yet reached Madrid; yet the deſtitute condition of that important conqueſt being known by private letters, the two firſt reports were read in council, and by its advice the young monarch on the 17th of July, being only the eighth month of the firſt year of his reign, diſpatched three warrants ſtrongly in favour of California, and no leſs honourable to the reverend ſociety, directed to don Juan de Ortega Montanes, archbiſhop of Mexico, then newly inveſted with the viceroyſhip, to the biſhop of Guadalaxara, and to the audience of that city. By the firſt warrant founded on the two reports, it was ordered that by no means an entrance of ſuch importance ſhould be neglected, but ſupported by all poſſible means: and his majeſty's affectionate thanks to be returned to the miſſionaries. It likewiſe directed that 6000 dollars ſhould be every year paid out of the royal treaſury for that miſſion, without delaying or omitting it on any pretence. It likewiſe required that an exact account ſhould be taken of the country; the garriſon; the means of forwarding the conqueſt; the communication with New Spain; the condition of the miſſions of Cinaloa, Sonora

nora and Nueva Biſcaya; and the ſuccours which theſe might furniſh towards the new miſſion; and laſtly it enjoyned that he ſhould interpoſe his authority for removing to California, if poſſible, two miſſions founded for Cinaloa and Sonora, by Alonzo Fernandez de la Torre, lately an inhabitant of Compoſtella. In the other two his majeſty directed the biſhop and audience to encourage and promote the enterpriſe; to ſend him an account of their proceedings, and to uſe proper meaſures for the exchange of the miſſions. Another royal warrant ſigned by her majeſty Mary of Savoy, was ſent the following year to the duke de Alburquerque, now viceroy, which I inſert here, both on account of its contents, and as a pleaſing memorial of that moſt amiable woman's accompliſhments, whoſe fine qualities and virtues juſtly cauſed her to be idolized by the whole nation. "The king and queen regent, to the duke of Alburquerque, my couſin, lord of my bed chamber, my viceroy, governor and captain general of the provinces of New Spain, and preſident of the Royal Audenci of Mexico; the provincial of the ſociety of jeſuits, in the province of Toledo, has repreſented to me, that it is now above five years ſince ſome miſſionaries of his order undertook the ſpiritual and temporal conqueſt of the Californians; and that in

Auguſt of the laſt year 1701, they had reduced the Indians for the ſpace of 50 leagues to a ſettled obedience, and founded four towns, with above 600 chriſtians, moſt of them young, and no leſs than 2000 adult catechumens; and that in the midſt of this happineſs, obtained without any expence to the royal revenue, but through the labour of thoſe religious, and the charitable contributions of zealous perſons, till the aſſignment paſſed laſt year for this purpoſe of 600 dollars to each, on the treaſury of Mexico. Some diſturbance was to be apprehended from the ſavages, of which the ſigns daily increaſed, that all neceſſary precautions were to be uſed againſt any detriment which threatened ſo great a work, in order to which, he has petitioned me to take what meaſures ſhould ſeem good to me, and though in my warrant of the 17th of July in the above mentioned year 1700, very particular orders and inſtructions were ſent to the government, concerning what was to be done for the better ſucceſs of the conqueſt of California, and promoting ſettlements there, I am now reſolved by my royal order of the 11th of this month, to renew the like directions to you; at the ſame time making known to you how agreeable thoſe accounts were to me, by reaſon of the great advantages which are expected from the ardent zeal of the miſſionaries

of

of the reverend ſociety, whom you are hereby directed to aſſiſt, and countenance on all occaſions, which may conduce to their relief and ſatisfaction, and the accompliſhment of the holy end, to which their indefatigable labours are directed, as I expect from you great duty to God and the crown. You likewiſe are to take care that they be occaſionally aſſiſted by all perſons in office and others; you are to ſend me an account of all your proceedings. Given at Madrid the 11th of December, 1702 —— I the Queen. By her majeſty's order, don Manuel de Apperregui."

Whilſt theſe ſchedules were in agitation at Madrid, not the leaſt thing was done at Mexico in favour of the miſſion on his majeſty's account. It is true, that this was in ſome meaſure impeded by two conqueſts, which the government of Mexico had undertaken with great vigour: the firſt was of the garriſon of Panzacola, on the gulf of Mexico, in the province of Florida, where it joins to Louiſiana, in 69 deg. W. longitude according to the famous geographer monſieur d'Anville, from the common meridian of the iſle of Ferro, or in 291 E. longitude, and in 30 degrees and a half north latitude. The ſecond was that of the province of Los Tezas, lying North of New

Mexico, in 95 degrees weſt longitude, or in 265 eaſtern longitude, from the ſame common meridian; and in 38 degrees north latitude. In the firſt conqueſt, above a million of dollars was expended in the year 1700, only Panzacola might not fall into the hands of other nations. Great advantages were alſo expected from the conqueſt of Los Texas, which was carried on without any regard to the expence. However both diverted the attention of the government from California. But the chief cauſe of ſo many delays and obſtructions was jealouſy, that evil which, from the beginning, has clogged all the plans of the ſociety. This malignant paſſion, which lurked in the corrupt hearts of many by ſpecious pretences, infects the good intentions and ſimplicity of the incautious. They whoſe hearts are continually grovelling amidſt the mire of this world, think it a mere chimera, that any one ſhould expoſe himſelf to great fatigues and dangers, without having in view a ſuitable preſent reward; and conſequently how could perſons of ſuch ſentiments believe, that the fathers, amidſt ſuch labours, diſtreſſes, and troubles, were aiming only at the glory of God, and the converſion of ſavages. The former expeditions to California, though unſucceſsful, had ſerved to enrich great numbers, either by the large ſums of the royal revenue

nue which had been expended, or by fiſhing and trading for pearls. The jeſuits were without any of theſe advantages. But the report of their being maſters of California, had no ſooner ſpread, than many of Mexico conceived, and induſtriouſly gave out, that the jeſuits found great treaſures there. Beſides the contributions of the benefactors, though not at all equal to the expences of the enterpriſe, yet were more than ſufficient to make a great noiſe among thoſe, who though they did not think fit to envy the jeſuits, the toils, dangers, and hardſhips, through which they were ſeeking the kingdom of God, yet were the firſt to envy them their temporal aggrandizement and reputation. This indeed was wanting in a conqueſt, which abounded only in wants. Yet the former account of the pearls ſtrengthened theſe malicious reports, which were carefully diſſeminated among the people as powerful reaſons, and cloathed with the appearance of patriotiſm, care of the publick money, and zeal for his majeſty's ſervice.

There was alſo another cauſe which ſprung up in the very boſom of the miſſion; and this was the uneaſineſs of the captain of the garriſon, Antonio Garcia de Mendoza, with whom the fatigues of his employment little agreed. But what he bore ſtill with

greater impatience was his ſubordination to the fathers, who would not allow him to oppreſs the Indians by any of thoſe pretences, which, in other parts, have been ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed by covetouſneſs for obtaining a ſudden fortune on the ruin of thoſe unhappy people. Accordingly about this time he wrote ſeveral letters to his friends and the viceroy, full of complaints againſt the fathers, though with ſuch equivocation, that in one to the viceroy, dated the 22d of October 1700, after beſtowing on the fathers Salva-Tierra and Piccolo, the titles of holy men, apoſtles, and cherubims, and magnifying their labour, zeal, and diſintereſtedneſs, he inveighs againſt all inland expeditions, levelings of ways, planting, tilling, and other works, concluding at laſt "I ſee no other remedy for putting a ſtop to theſe romantick and raſh ſchemes, than to give an account of them to the moſt reverend provincial of the ſociety, deſiring him that he would order from hence theſe two religious, and ſecure them in a place where they may receive the puniſhment they deſire: and for my part impriſon and chain me in a caſtle, as a warning to thoſe that come after me, that they may not be carried away by ſuch deluſions." Theſe letters, which the enemies to the miſſion did not grudge to copy and diſtribute great numbers of them

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in Mexico and other parts, though written by a man under a violent diſcompoſure of mind made a deep impreſſion on ſome of the miniſtry; and on all who conſidered the ſubordination of the ſoldiers to the fathers, only as a gratification of an exceſſive deſire of power: and who looked upon this ſubjection as a ſcandal to the name of a ſoldier, although they were paid out of charitable contributions. But the misfortune was, that the diſpute happened at a time when the treaſury was exhauſted, and when very few minded any thing elſe, than to make the beſt advantage of the uncertain life of a king, naturally infirm, and now ſick, and without any ſucceſſor. Another unhappy effect of theſe reports being ſpread among the people by perſons of figure, was, that they cooled the hearts of many who before had chearfully and liberally contributed to the ſupport of the miſſion, that it became neceſſary from an inability to ſupport it, to reduce the garriſon of Loretto to only twelve ſoldiers, who voluntarily remained, that the fathers might not be wholly forſaken. The ſmall number now left ſpirited up the Indians to form ſeveral plots, and all journies or ſettlements up the country, were no longer to be thought of. The baptiſm of the adults was put off for a long time; and ſuch were the hardſhips and diſtreſſes which befell our

people in California, that it plainly appeared to be the divine will, that this ſpiritual conqueſt ſhould be founded on oppoſition and ſufferings; his uſual method in all works which he owns as his. In a letter of October 3, 1700, father Salva-Tierra, after acquainting his friend the ſolicitor of Guadalaxara, that he had diſcharged 18 ſoldiers, adds, "For the diſcharge of the remainder I only wait for the laſt reſolutions of the audience of Mexico, to whom I have ſent my final proteſts. After the total reduction of the ſoldiers, we ſhall conſult on liquidating all arrears: and if, for want of a military force, our California ſons ſhould ſend us to give an account to God, there will ſtill remain our lady of Loretto, who unqueſtionably will pay the whole."

All hopes of aſſiſtance from the government being now deſpaired of, father Ugarte collected in Mexico what contributions he could: theſe he laid out according to the bills which had been ſent him; and with an intent of remaining in California for ever, he requeſted leave to ſend that unlucky veſſel the San Joſeph, which after twenty-two months ſhe had been building on the coaſt of New Galicia, was not yet finiſhed. It was with great difficulty his ſuperiors would admit of it; and having left the concerns of the miſſion in the hands of the faithful

faithful father Alexandro Romano, he left Mexico on the third of December, being the feſtival of St. Xavier his patron; he took the way of Queretaro and Guadalaxara, in order to acquaint Ozio and the ſolicitor Miranda, of the ſtate of affairs; and having given proper orders on the coaſt of Cinaloa and Ahome, for ſending away the long-boat with proviſions, he traveled above 400 leagues to the river Hiaqui, where he hoped to find father Juan Maria, but he was diſappointed; and his impatience to reach theſe new miſſions for the converſion of the gentiles, not admitting of any delay, inſtead of waiting for him, he boldly got into an old ſmall boat left as unſerviceable on the coaſt, and having in three days croſſed the gulf with a fair wind, he arrived at Loretto on the 19th of March, on the feſtival of the patriarch St. Joſeph, whom he had choſen for his protector in ſo dangerous a paſſage. Here he found father Piccolo, and the people of the garriſon in the utmoſt melancholy and diſtreſs, as ſince laſt October, they had received no ſupply, nor any account from the coaſt. Providence a few days after, was pleaſed to comfort them by the arrival of the San Xavier long-boat with the proviſions, which father Ugarte had put on board three months before. But by the violence of contrary winds, the boat had been

been beating the ſea all the time, ſo that great part of the proviſions was expended.

SECT. V.

Attempts and voyages for diſcovering the junction of CALIFORNIA with the continent of New Spain: a ſhort narrative of the deſigns and heroick labours of father Franciſco Kino, in the miſſions of Sonora and Pineria; with an account of them.

Father Salva-Tierra, with inconceivable grief, ſaw himſelf on the point of abandoning for ever, after ſuch a great expence to well diſpoſed perſons, the converſion of California, from the impoſſibility of procuring a ſubſiſtence from the miſſionaries and others in the country, and from the delay, uncertainty, and continual want of ſuccours from New Spain. He ſaw that without ſuch proviſions, all the meaſures of the moſt ardent zeal for the converſion of the Indians would be of no effect. Laſtly, he ſaw that new oppoſitions were daily raiſing in Mexico againſt affording him the neceſſary ſupplies. In this exigency he determined to croſs the gulf in ſearch of others, and for opening a way to receive them with leſs uncertainty and

danger. His hopes were grounded on the miſſions of the jeſuits, in the province of Sonora, which he flattered himſelf might hereafter make one body with thoſe of California, by a reciprocation of ſupplies, and all kinds of good offices: to this purpoſe he left Loretto at the end of October 1700, and landed at Cinaloa, where, having collected ſome contributions and ſuccours for his miſſion, he went to Sonora to meet his old reverend friend father Kino. This apoſtolical jeſuit, who, as we have related, had firſt put Salva-Tierra on the Californian deſign, and being detained as a priſoner at Sonora, by the neceſſity of his perſonal preſence in that province, had endeavoured to ſupport the laſt mentioned father, by collecting donations, and ſending from Guayma and Hiaqui, furniture, beaſts for breeding, and proviſions, which he procured among the mines and miſſions. But neither his elevated thoughts, nor thoſe of the venerable Salva-Tierra, were limited to the preſent time, nor to low objects; both formed the ſcheme of ſubjecting to the king the vaſt countries of America, contiguous to the South ſea, one carrying on his ſpiritual conqueſts along the north of California, and the other through the continent of America, till he arrived at laſt in the countries oppoſite to Puerto de Monte-Rey, and cape Mendozino,

Mendozino, in caſe California was not found to be an iſland, at the ſame time converting all the interjacent country to chriſtianity. Theſe great men were not able to accompliſh their extenſive ſchemes, nor hitherto have the jeſuits who ſucceeded them in their miſſions and labours. But it is worth taking notice of here, what each did ſeparately towards the execution of ſo vaſt a project, and lay open the noble views with which they were animated: for the reaſons for the execution of them being of the ſame nature and validity now, it will be proper to enter into a detail of the plan, which in this enterpriſe is at any time to be followed: and this will further ſhew the importance and the connection of the ſeveral miſſions, and what may be expected under the good pleaſure of providence from the enlargement and proſperity of them. But in order to this, it is neceſſary, by way of digreſſion, to give a ſhort account of the miſſions of Sonora. The particular narrative of the ſaid miſſions will more circumſtantially gratify the curioſity of the reader, with an infinite variety of accounts. In the mean time, thoſe I am going to lay before him, are of the greateſt authenticity, having been at the pains of copying them from the original journals of father Kino, father Juan Antonio Balthaſar, formerly viſitor of the ſaid miſſions, and now preſident

ſident of the province of Mexico; a perſon whoſe zeal, labours, virtues, and talents, will juſtly entitle him to the admiration of poſterity.

The province of Sonora lies eaſt of California, the gulf of that name running betwixt both; and thus, as we have ſaid, waſhing both coaſts. It is the leaſt province of the Spaniſh dominions in America, along the coaſt of the South ſea: for though that of New Mexico, which lies north eaſt of Sonora, be in a higher latitude than this, it is a province on all ſides environed by land, without any iſſue to the ſea. The government of Sonora reached northward from the mouth of the river Hiaqui, to the Apaches, who hitherto have been the ſcourge and the terror of the whole country. The laſt miſſion of the coaſt, was that of Concepcion de Caborca in about thirty-one degrees, and about ninety or one hundred leagues from the river Hiaqui; but was totally deſtroyed laſt year 1751, by the ſavages in an inſurrection, when it was the happineſs of the two miſſionaries, father Thomas Tello a native of Almagro, and ſon of Alonſo Tello and Iſabel Buytron, and father Henrique Rohen to ſeal their faith by martyrdom, though an inexpreſſible loſs to the new eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity in thoſe parts. Weſtward it is bounded by the gulf of California; ſouthward it joins to the provinces of Rio Mayo,

Mayo, Cinaloa, and Oſti Muri, and eaſtward it reaches to the high mountain of Tarrahumara. The circumference of the whole, is about three hundred and fifty leagues. It is inhabited by various nations of Indians, as the Opatas, Topas, Teguaiamas, Heguis, the upper Paymas and the lower Paymas, the Seris, the Tepocas, and Guayamas; among all which are twenty-four miſſions of jeſuits. The air is ſalutary and mild, the country very different, being ſteep mountains intermixed with delightful levels and fruitful valleys, formed by the ſeveral branches of the great mountain; and where, beſides excellent paſtures, are produced in great plenty, moſt of the eſculent vegetables of Europe and America. The greateſt inconveniency of this is, that along the gulf of California, its coaſt is a ſucceſſion of inacceſſible mountains and barren ſands, without any freſh water: and for this reaſon, from Hiaqui to Caborca it is inhabited only by the Guayamas, the Tepocas, and the Seris, who live by fiſhing. Such a diſpoſition of the ſhore, with impediments of another nature, has not only rendered any ſettlements on the coaſt by Spaniſh colonies impracticable, but alſo made the formation of any miſſions extremely difficult. And though many trials and entrances have been made, and in theſe late years, the Indians on the coaſt have

have admitted the faith among them, yet it is far from being in a proper manner and firmneſs, as was moſt unhappily proved by the inſurrection abovementioned in 1751; and which it is juſtly feared will prove a laſting obſtacle to its reduction. On this account, though the province has a coaſt of ſuch extent, it may be looked upon as inland, affording no manner of conveniency for a maritime commerce with the other provinces: and to the ſame cauſe it is owing, that the frontiers of California do not receive from Sonora, which it might, were the diſpoſition of its coaſt otherwiſe.

Sonora may be ſaid at the ſame time to be one of the pooreſt and richeſt provinces of America, and of the world. Beſides its fruitfulneſs in all ſorts of uſeful vegetables, it is every where full of veins of ſilver ore and mines, and of ſuch richneſs, that what is related of ſome, exceeds all credibility; and if the allegations in ſuits before the ſupreme council of the Indies may be depended on, Potoſi and the other mines, however rich, are no longer to be principally admired, Sonora affording mountains, wanting very little of being entirely compoſed of maſſy ſilver. Several Spaniſh families in different camps or ſettlements, make conſiderable advantages of theſe mines: yet is this province one

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of the pooreſt, and in the whole world there is ſcarce a more manifeſt proof of that truth, though but little attended to, that the wealth and power of a ſtate does not conſiſt in gold, ſilver, gems, and the noble metals, but in the number and induſtry of its inhabitants; a well cultivated ſoil, graziery, and variety of manufactures for conſumption and exportation, and the exact adminiſtration of juſtice. Sonora, I repeat it, is in extreme poverty; and it is even viſible, that every day it becomes thinner of inhabitants. The cauſes are general to all Spaniſh America and even to Old Spain. But they are of greater force in Sonora, as lying more out of the way of the trade to Europe; a detail of it would require a longer diſcourſe than is conſiſtent with this place: but as this is an eſſential point in the knowledge of your conſtitution of the province, and as the religious ſettlements already founded, and the ſucceſs of the miſſions and conqueſts, both of Sennora and California depended on it, it will be proper, paſſing by others of leſs conſideration, to lay open the two moſt principal ſources. The firſt is, that as ſilver is here to be conſidered as the principal, or only mercantile commodity proper for exportation, the advantage made by the ſilver, little anſwers the charge of working it. The ſeparation of the ſilver by fire,

fire, is attended with ſo great an expence, that, large as the produce is, the advantage is little or nothing. The ſeparation of the ſilver by mercury is ſtill more chargeable than by fire. For beſides the exceſſive price of mercury at firſt hand, there is the charge of land carriage on the backs of beaſts, for no leſs than ſix hundred leagues, the diſtance betwixt Vera-Cruz and Sonora. And thus the mines become relinquiſhed; the ſeparating of the ſilver by quickſilver yielding no advantage, as is acknowledged by a learned Mexican, in conformity to the demonſtration of another able judge, in delivering his opinion on this head. The conſequence of this is, that the province is without thoſe goods from abroad which it wants; or that in exchange for them, it gives thoſe very funds which it ſtands in need of, in manufacturing its ſtaple produce; by which this is entirely at a ſtand, and every thing goes to ruin. The ſecond reaſon of this poverty is, that in America, and much more in Sonora, there is a lamentable want of almoſt all neceſſary and convenient manufactures, trades, and callings. Other European nations, though abounding with ſuch large quantities of various goods and manufactures within themſelves, and an infinite number of products to be diſpoſed of at foreign markets, are yet ſeen vigorouſly to en-

courage in their American colonies all kinds of trades, manufactures, arts, and handicrafts; well knowing that otherwiſe their plantations would ſoon degenerate into deſerts. Of theſe eſtabliſhments the ſure conſequences are agriculture and graziery, for the ſubſiſtence of the artiſans, and likewiſe for furniſhing them with many materials. Theſe two alone form the true riches of a country, as it conſiſts entirely in a plenty of proviſions, and of inhabitants, and the reciprocal commerce betwixt them. The great Cortes uſed all poſſible endeavours, for introducing into Mexico the whole train of arts and trades, to which Old Spain owed its populouſneſs, wealth, happineſs, and power, eſpecially precepts in retaining the regular and ſalutary motion, which it derived from the catholick kings. Cortes's maxims were followed by a few of the viceroys, as the great archbiſhop Quiroga, couſin to the archbiſhop cardinal of Toledo, of that name, and who by theſe meaſures diffuſed through Mechoacan, that temporal and ſpiritual happineſs which will eternally endear his memory, to thoſe parts: but ſince that time the ſcene is ſadly changed; and Old Spain, though without goods, trades, and manufactures, ſufficient for its own conſumption, receiving, as is well known, ſuch vaſt quantities from abroad, yet muſt furniſh half the world, i. e. America,

with

with moſt of its neceſſaries. The province of Sonora we are ſpeaking of, muſt receive what goods it neither produces nor makes, i. e. all, a few proviſions excepted, not immediately from Europe but from Mexico, after all the riſques and charges of ſix hundred leagues land carriage. What then muſt be the value of a yard of cloth, carried from Holland to Cadiz, from thence exported to Vera Cruz, thence carried to Mexico; and at laſt from the twelfth, or even the twentieth time ſold at Sonora, and perhaps by neceſſity, bought at the price which an unconſcionable dealer is pleaſed to fix on it. Thus as America is in a great meaſure deſtitute of one of the main ſupports of every ſtate, in want of manufactures and handicrafts for home conſumption; and conſequently by reaſon of their intimate connection, little encouragement for agriculture and graziery, great numbers of people, as either without lands, or as unable or unwilling to improve them, not only fall ſhort of that wealth, in purſuit of which they left Europe, but even find themſelves without the means of a decent ſubſiſtence. The mines are generally thought to be the only reſource for acquiring both; many are ſo dazzled by the computation of their products, that they forget to reckon the charges of them; and moſt people, without any regard to the good of the

country, or of poſterity, engroſſed by an eager deſire of amaſſing a fortune, in order to return to Europe; and as from the mines are to ariſe the funds for the enormous charges of the works done and to be done, and likewiſe for providing themſelves with all foreign goods: and after theſe expences alſo for profit, this produces a neceſſity of reducing as low as poſſible, the charges of the works; of looking out for tranſported labourers, laying exceſſive taſks on them, putting them off, paying them in bad money, or refuſing to pay them at all, or even ſo much as give them victuals, charge them with crimes they are not guilty of, in order to ſtrip them of what they have already earned, and of haraſſing the poor creatures by oppreſſions of various kinds. In the remote provinces of Sonora, the charges are more than double, and the difficulties greater, beſides the want of every thing, and the impunity of extortion from the vaſt diſtance of the upper tribunals. Farther, no negroes are ſent hither, ſo that only weak and ſpiritleſs Indians are to work in the mines, though a moſt toilſome labour: and for this work, they who are not preſſed as it were to be labourers at the farms, are with no leſs violence, forced away from their miſſions: though there be ſomething of a greater appearance for the former, the mita days, or thoſe in

in which, according to the laws, the labours of the mines and fields are to be changed, do not ſuffice for the avidity of the owners, who by a thouſand fraudulent practices, engage them at all times: ſo that many who go to the mines, never in their whole lives return again to their native places. It is in vain for the miſſionary to reclaim them; beſides being diſappointed, it is well if the blackeſt calumnies are not raiſed againſt him, or even if he does not ſuffer ſome violence, in countries where the miſchief is generally in thoſe hands where the remedy ſhould be found; and where any recourſe to a higher power is impracticable. If they do appeal, immediately follows a rupture with thoſe, by whoſe aſſiſtance, the converſion was to be carried on; and againſt his information appear great numbers of others, by which his cauſe, however juſt, is overthrown, and he is ſuſpended, if not totally rejected, without waiting for the opinion of the government. In the mean time, the gentile Indians, who are yet free, haughtily refuſe to become ſubject to the yoke of the goſpel, when they ſee their converts forced into ſuch a wretched ſlavery.

Thoſe alſo who have been reduced, are often provoked to a revolt; and, even in the profoundeſt tranquility, have been charged with inſurrections, that, under this pretence, an armed

force might be ſent againſt them, to rouſe them to an oppoſition: and then to take them priſoners, and as a puniſhment are condemned to work for life in the mines; or at the farm houſes. Such proceedings decreaſe the number of Indians; eſpecially as they often procure relief from their miſeries by their own hands. The country being thus deprived of its greateſt advantages, lies, notwithſtanding its inexhauſtible mines of ſilver and fertility, in the moſt wretched poverty.

Father Euſebius Franciſco Kino entered in the year 1687, the province of Sonora; being appointed to the only miſſion then ſubſiſting, and bordering on the Indians of Pimeria Alta, a province extending above one hundred leagues N. of Sonora, and weſtward to the gulf of California. He laboured in the miſſion and reduction of the Indians, with a zeal truly worthy of admiration; went undauntedly alone among them, formed them into villages, prevailed on them to ſow their lands and take care of their cattle: as the means of keeping them together, and employing ſubordinate agents for their civil polity. He had the patience to learn the different languages, tranſlated the catechiſm and prayers, which without being diſguſted by their indocility and dullneſs, he taught them verbally. He likewiſe compoſed

vocabularies

vocabularies and obſervations, for the uſe of his aſſiſtants and ſucceſſors: and ſuch were the happy effects of his wonderful mildneſs and condeſcenſion, that they all loved him and confided in him as their general father. He built houſes and chapels, formed villages and towns; reconciled nations who were at enmity: and had he, according to his repeated requeſt, been ſeconded by other miſſionaries, the converſion of all the nations, betwixt Sonora and the rivers Gila and Colorado, might have been eaſily accompliſhed, and the miſſions of New Spain and California, have carried on an intercourſe by land; a deſign which always appeared extremely difficult. But the hardſhips which this worthy man ſuffered from the Indians were the leaſt, or rather not to be compared to thoſe he met with from ſome Spaniards, againſt whoſe violences he was as a wall of braſs, in favour of his converts. They obſtructed his enterpriſes and prevented his being aſſiſted by others, it being their intereſt, that the poor Pimas ſhould be branded with the name of rebels and enemies, that they might commit depredations among them, and force the Indians to ſerve them as ſlaves. Beſides, the farms already ſettled, in order to ſupport the civil government of the Indians and their miniſters, after ſuch labours and fatigues as cannot be eaſily conceived,

ſoon fell to decay: for it was father Kino alone, who had been able to obtain from the audience of Guadalaxara, that the new converts among the Indians, ſhould not, during the firſt five years of their converſion, be obliged to work either on the lands or in the mines; though Charles II. from his regard to religion, was pleaſed by an order dated the 14th of May 1686, to prolong theſe five years to twenty; but this was never obſerved, and the father had the mortification to ſee thoſe he had baptiſed, drawn from the mountains and deſerts, and inſtructed with infinite pains, forcibly dragged from him to be buried in the depths of a mine, whence few ever return. Beſides theſe methods for drawing them from the miſſions, they ſuffered them in the mines and farms to be guilty of the moſt abominable exceſſes, which the fathers took care to reſtrain in their habitations: yet notwithſtanding ſo many formidable oppoſitions, father Kino in the year 1690, when father Salva-Tierra, then viſitor of the miſſions, came into Pimeria, ſhewed him ſeveral new villages he had founded; and the promiſing diſpoſitions he had made, for baptiſing the Pimas and other more diſtant nations.

As both theſe miſſionaries were deſirous, if poſſible, to enter California, it was agreed, that father Kino ſhould endeavour to procure

aſſiſtants

aſſiſtants on the coaſt of Pimeria and Sonora, in order to make the firſt eſſay in theſe provinces, and from thence to ſupply the barrenneſs of California, confiding in the hearty affection which he every where found in the Indians. Accordingly, father Kino the following year penetrated as far as the coaſt, and in that part of the country of the Pimas called Soba, he built, in the year 1694, a ſmall veſſel, in which he came to the bay called Santa Sabina. He alſo founded, in a convenient ſituation, twenty-two leagues up the country, the miſſion of la Concepcion de Caborca. In the year 1698, on father Salva-Tierra's entrance into California, father Kino in the month of September, left his miſſion of Dolores, and after going northward as far as the river Gila, viſiting by the way the rancherias of his catechumens, among the Pimas, Opas, and as far as la Encarnacion and San Andres, he continued his journey, and at eighty leagues from San Andres, came to the gulf of California, where, in thirty-two degrees north latitude he found a creek, abounding with freſh water and wood, formerly called the bay of Santa Clara, lying near the lofty ridge of mountains of that name. From hence he took a view of the coaſt ſouthward to the bay of Santa Sabina; whence he went to Caborca, and from thence returned to his miſſion

of

of Dolores, after travelling above 300 leagues through a rugged uncultivated country, and the inhabitants deſtitute of all religion. Father Kino ſent an account of this journey to his ſuperiors, and to the fathers Salva-Tierra and Piccolo, from whom he received thanks for his intrepidity and labours, to promote the common good of thoſe conqueſts. In the following years father Kino made ſeveral other progreſſes, equally long, difficult, and dangerous: ſometimes to viſit his catechumens to confirm them in the faith, and inſtruct them in what was further neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence, and the regularity of their commodities; ſometimes he was accompanied by captain Mattheo Mange, in order to confute the calumnies and falſe reports, and quiet inſurrections. In his laſt excurſions he was attended by the fathers Antonio Leal, and Franciſco Gozalvo, with a deſign of going among the Apaches, who, however, famous for ferocity, at that time moved by the reputation of father Kino, had deſired ſome fathers to be ſent among them for their inſtruction. This journey was, however, rendered abortive, and the moſt favourable opportunity of civilizing thoſe ſavages, abſolutely loſt. Amidſt theſe important concerns, this great man took care, by the products of his villages, and of the other miſſions of the province, to ſupply the want

want of proviſions in California, from the harbours of San Joſeph de Guaymas, and that of Hiaqui: and in other things ſhewed himſelf an alert and prudent agent for theſe miſſions.

However ſurpriſing this may appear, yet father Kino's intrepidity was not to be limited. In all theſe toilſome progreſſes, and many others through unknown countries, whither his undaunted ſpirit had carried him, he was always deſirous of knowing whether California was united to the continent of New Spain, or whether the gulf continued its direction northward till it iſſued into the South-ſea above cape Mendocino, and forming one of the largeſt iſlands in the world. Being a conſummate geographer, he was not ignorant that it was formerly conſidered as part of the continent. But he alſo knew that ever ſince the time of Drake, the Engliſh navigator, the contrary opinion had prevailed; and that all the moderns placed it as an iſland, there being extant alſo ſome journals of mariners, according to which they went round California through a ſtreight, and gave the parts and places along which they paſſed their own names. Nor was the father inſenſible of the great importance of ſolving this geographical problem, and of the advantages which would reſult to the conqueſt, by carrying on the Sonora and Californian miſſions northward,

ward, till they ſhould meet; and thus be of mutual aſſiſtance to each other by land. Accordingly in the year 1700, he reſolved to viſit his Neophites, and penetrate as far as poſſible, in order to aſcertain this junction, which, from the anſwers and accounts of the Indians, he was inclined to believe.

On the 24th of September 1700, he ſet out from his miſſion of Dolores; and having viſited the villages de Los Remedios, and San Simon and Judas, he came to San Ambroſio del Buſanio Tucubabia and Santa Tulalia, having previouſly ſpent ſome time with 300 Indians, who on a miſſionary being ſent them, offered to incorporate themſelves with thoſe of Buſaſani; ſix leagues farther 40 Indians came out to meet him, and at the ſame diſtance farther, he came to the village della Merced; twenty leagues farther, he found the village of San Geronymo and four rancherias: at the diſtance of five leagues he came to a piece of water, and met with another 12 leagues farther; and after travelling 10 other leagues, he found himſelf at the river Gila. Its ſource riſes in the country of the Apaches, from whence it runs eaſt and weſt in above 44 degrees of latitude. And after receiving the waters of the river Azul, it loſes itſelf in the famous river Colorado. The father followed the courſe of the river

river for 50 leagues, his attendants being a mixture of Pimas, Opas, and Cocomaricopas: and after paſſing through ſeveral rancherias of theſe nations, he came to the Yumas, who live on the fartheſt banks of the river Gila, before its conflux with the Colorado; and likewiſe thoſe on the eaſtern ſide of that great river. Here he aſcended a mountain of remarkable height, which however afforded him no ſight of the ſea; nor could he, though aſſiſted by a good teleſcope, diſcover any thing but land. In the farther proſecution of his journey, he came to that part of the country where the river Gila joins the Colorado, near which they told him, the four nations called the Quiquimas, the Bagiopas, the Hobonomas, and Cutguanes had their reſidence. At the requeſt of the Yumas, he proceeded to the junction of the two rivers; croſſed the Gila, which here is very large, and divided into three branches, and ten or twelve leagues farther, came to a fertile ſpot of land in 35 degrees, lying in an angle formed by the junction of theſe two rivers, to which he gave the name of San Dionyſio. Here above 1500 perſons came to ſee him in a body; and on being examined, they all agreed that there was no ſea near the country; for many of them living on the weſt ſide of the Colorado, had often ſwam acroſs the river. They entreated him that he would

would likewiſe viſit the country; but it was not thought prudent to comply, from the ſcarcity of proviſions, wearineſs, ſickneſs, and diſcontent of the Pimas. So that after a great many kind expreſſions, and a few ſmall preſents, he returned to the place where he had firſt taken view of the country. Here he aſcended the higheſt mountain of the whole chain, from whence, by the help of his teleſcope, he had a diſtinct view of the mountains of California, and perceived, that after the conflux of the two rivers at San Dionyſio, the Colorado run ten leagues towards the S. W. and 20 more ſouthward, till it diſcharges itſelf into the gulf of California. He continued his journey to Caborca by a new route, and at the end of October, arrived at his miſſion of Dolores, after a journey of about 400 leagues.

Father Kino was now convinced that California was connected to the continent of America, the great river Colorado only intervening, and accordingly publiſhed the diſcovery, and the commandant of Sonora, in the king's name, and the ſuperiors of his order, formally returned him thanks.

Father Juan Maria Salva-Tierra, who in the ſame month came from California, in order to ſolicit aſſiſtance among the miſſions and garriſons of Sonora, was greatly pleaſed at this account;

count; and by letters, and ſince in perſon, congratulated father Kino. But this diſcovery being founded only on a diſtant view, father Salva-Tierra exhorted father Kino to undertake a ſecond journey, that he might perſonally prove the truth of it, judging that the whole welfare of his Californian miſſion depended upon it. He even deſired him to croſs from Sonora, to the river Colorado; and after following the courſe of that river, to proceed along the coaſt of California to the garriſon of Loretto. Father Kino readily agreed to the invitation, and though it ſuffered a delay of ſome days, on account of the inroads of the lawleſs Apaches, in the village of Cucurpe, and the neighbouring country; the fathers at length ſet out from the miſſion de Dolores, on the 1ſt of March 1701, and as they took different ways, in order to viſit the catechumens, Concepcion de Caborca was appointed for their rendezvous. Father Salva-Tierra went by San Ignacio, in order to reach the river Caborca, the courſe of which he followed through Tibutama, Axi, San Diepo de Uquitoa, and San Diepo de Pitquin, till he arrived at the rendezvous. Father Kino took a circuit by Cocoſpera, San Simon and Judas, till at San Ambroſio de Buſanio, he came to the ſame river of Caborca, and kept along its banks

through

through Sarrii, Tibutama, and other villages to Caborca. From hence they ſet out together northward, attended by 10 ſoldiers, and came to San Eduardo de Baiſſia, and San Luis de Bacapa: at the latter they were met by the Marcos de Niza, provincial of the Franciſcans, as he himſelf mentions in his account of the ſeven cities of Cibola. Twelve leagues farther brought them to San Marcelo, the only ſpot on all that coaſt and the adjacent parts for ſettling a miſſion, the ſoil being very fit both for tillage and paſture, and abounding with water for all uſes. This place, according to father Kino's obſervations, lies 50 leagues ſouth of Caborca, 50 north of the river Gila, and at the ſame diſtance eaſtward from San Xavier del Bac; bearing N. W. from the mouth of the river Colorado.

At San Marcelo, they met with an agreeable anſwer to the meſſages ſent to the Quicimas, ſome of whom came to meet them at a ſpring eight leagues from San Marcelo. By theſe they learned that there were two ways by which they might paſs to the mouth of the Colorado; the one over valleys, mountains, and long circuits to the left of the mountains of Santa Clara, the other ſhorter by the way of the coaſt, leaving thoſe mountains to the right, along ſands of a great extent to the river.

The

The Indians perhaps, as they are inured to travel with baggage or provisions, were not aware of the difficulty of passing the sands. However the fathers chose the way along the coast, as it was proper to take a view of it. But this choice in a great measure frustated the intentions of the journey. After travelling 30 leagues in quest of the sea, they came to a small rancheria; and leaving on the north the great mountain of Santa Clara, whose sides for the length of half a league, are covered with pumice stone, they arrived at the sandy waste on the 19th of March. On the 20th captain Juan Matheo Mange and father Kino, ascended a lofty mountain, whence they not only saw the sea, but also the opposite coast and mountains of California, and found the latitude to be 30 degrees. On the 21st they reached the shore; but being without water or provisions, they found it impossible to proceed along the sand, and accordingly returned to San Marcelo, from whence they set out again, but taking a higher way, and in 32 degrees 35 minutes, ascended a hill of no extraordinary height; but about an hour before sun set, they had, from its summit a clear view of the cordillera of California; particularly the hills of Mescal and Azul. Here they also clearly discovered, beyond all possibility of doubt, the junction of California,

and Pimeria Alta, and the gulf of California terminating at the mouth of the Rio Colorado. This father Kino affirms in his MSS. narratives, and in proof of it, alledged the accounts of captain Juan Matheo Mange, printed in French; though I have not been able to procure them either in that or the Spaniſh language.

There is however, no occaſion for this voucher, father Salva-Tierra ſaying the ſame thing in a letter dated at Loretto the 29th of Auguſt 1701, wherein he mentions the diſcovery and its advantages to the father general Thurſo Gonzales.

"I acquainted you, reverend father, that having landed on the other ſide of New Spain, I travelled along thoſe coaſts till from the unanimous informations of the Indians, I had reaſon to believe that New Spain and California were united; but willing to have further ſatisfaction with regard to a matter of ſuch importance, I continued my journey, till from a mountain, and that no very high one, I obſerved the woody mountains of California joined to thoſe of New Spain. This diſcovery I owe to the holy virgin of Loretto; and I intend a more circumſtantial account, which I hope ſoon will be in your hands. I brought with me father Euſebio Franciſco Kino, who I hope, after this voyage, will go in perſon to

thoſe

thoſe parts, which we have only ſeen at a great diſtance, being in about 32 deg. latitude. This excurſion at preſent ſeems of little advantage, on account of the diſtance from 26 degrees, where we were in California, to above 32, where the gulf ſeems to cloſe. Theſe however, are ſteps by which within a few years California may come to be the ſoul of this kingdom, the main ſource of its opulence, the ſcene of chearful induſtry; and accordingly I conclude that you will charge all perſons that they continue to defend and aſſiſt us in theſe miſſions of Nueſtra Sennora de Loretto de Californias."

There they found the greateſt part of the Indians, who, the preceding year had met at San Dionyſio, above the conflux of the rivers; and from theſe they knew that it was ſtill 30 leagues from the ſand. The proviſions now grew ſhort: ſo that not without running the riſque of the greateſt dangers, father Kino returned to San Marcelo to build a church, and give directions concerning a new miſſion. And Salva-Tierra to Caborca, Dolores, and the other miſſions of Sonora, in order to collect charities which he carried to the river Hiaqui; and from thence at the latter end of April to Loretto.

This ſection cannot in juſtice to father Kino be concluded, without taking notice of his unwearied ſervices in order to aſcertain the

junction of thoſe countries, and obtain the reconciliation of new nations, by diſpoſing them to receive the goſpel.

In November of the ſame year 1701, he went to San Marcelo, a different way from the former, thence to the river Gila, which he forded at San Dionyſio near its influx into the Colorado; he afterwards repaſſed the Gila and followed the courſe of the Colorado by the rancherias of the Yumas and Quinquimas, to the diſtance of 20 leagues. Here ſuch a vaſt multitude of Indians came to meet him, that a Spaniſh lad ran away for fear. In this part the river Colorado is about 200 yards broad. The Indians croſs it by ſwimming, and puſhing before them their coryſtas, a ſort of trough or veſſel made of ruſhes and herbs, in which they carry a buſhel or two of maize; and theſe are of ſo cloſe a texture that the contents are never damaged by the water. Here father Kino made a balza of pieces of trees, and having to the wonder of the Indians, croſſed the river on it, found on its weſtern ſhore great numbers of Indians of different tribes, as Quinquimas, Coanopas, Bagiopas, and Cetguanes, to whom for the firſt time, by means of interpreters among the Pimas, he preached the goſpel. He travelled on foot three leagues along the country, till he came to the reſidence of the caſique of the Quinquimas.

quimas. Here he found all the country level, intermixed with woods, and the ſoil fit for tillage and graziery. The number of ſouls in this neighbourhood, to which he gave the name of Preſentation de Nueſtra Sennora, he computed at 10,000. Here they offered him a great many azure ſhells, which are only found on the oppoſite coaſt of California; and on enquiring after the South-ſea, he was informed that it was but a journey of ten days. Father Kino was extremely deſirous of traverſing the whole country to Monte-Rey, or cape Mendocino. But there was no boat for carrying the beaſts over the river: and without them ſuch a journey was not to be undertaken: ſo that he was obliged to content himſelf with writing to father Salva-Tierra at Loretto, which he judged to be about 130 leagues from that place. His letters he truſted to the Quinquimas, but they never came to hand. And now ſatisfied with the diſcovery of ſo many nations he returned, viſiting by the way the many villages he had before ſettled.

In February 1702, father Kino made his laſt effort, accompanied with father Martin Gonzales, a miſſionary, who voluntarily offered to attend him in a journey of ſuch labour and hardſhip, as only to be borne by the vigour and intrepidity of Kino. On the 28th they arrived

at San Dionyſio, at the junction of the two rivers, inſtructing great numbers, who flocked to him from all parts. In March they advanced as far as the rancheria of Quinquimas, to which they gave the name of San Rudeſindo. Here the Indians ſhew'd a very aſtoniſhing affability and gentleneſs; and expreſſed ſo much love for the fathers, and even for the beaſts, that father Gonzales diſtributed among them part of his own apparel. They continued their journey down the river Colorado ſouthward, till they came to its mouth, and the ſea coaſt. Here many Indians came from the weſtern banks of the river, intreating them that they would paſs over into their country. Of theſe they enquired about the nations, mountains, and rivers, of the oppoſite ſide. And were here again confirmed, that ten days would bring them to the ſhore of the South-ſea. The night of the 10th they paſſed at the very mouth of the river, that at high-water the tide came very near their beds. A balza was begun for croſſing the river, but the cumbrance of the beaſts, the breadth of the river, the rapidity of the current, and eſpecially the illneſs of father Gonzales, by continual fatigue, occaſioned that deſign to be dropped; and all he could do was to return with his ſick brother. Father Kino was for croſſing the ſand as the ſhorteſt

ſhorteſt way, and at the ſame time take a ſurvey of the coaſt as far as San Marcelo. But he found it impracticable, and accordingly returned with all the haſte father Gonzales's caſe required, to the miſſion of Tibutama, where he loſt his fellow-traveller, whoſe zeal was too ſtrong for his conſtitution. In the following years father Kino was wholly taken up with promoting and cementing the miſſions begun in Pimeria, amidſt very ſevere perſecutions raiſed againſt him and his converts; and being without any one to aſſiſt him in ſo wide a province, and inhabited by new chriſtians and catechumens, he was obliged to be continually travelling hard from one part to another. But it was not till the year 1706 that he returned towards the Rio Colorado, when he made an entrance into that country with the chief military officers of Savora, who by order of the governor were ſent to view the country, and with them Manuel de Ojuela, a Franciſcan. They found it the ſame as at the former entrances, on which they returned, and father Kino, with the ſame dauntleſs zeal, repaired to his miſſion, where he continued till the year 1710, when he paſſed from theſe earthly abodes to the manſions of eternity.

SECT. VI.

New resolutions in CALIFORNIA, and the progress of its missions till the end of the year 1703.

The arrival of father Juan Maria Salva-Tierra at Loretto, gave inexpressible joy to all, as they considered him as their common father: but father Ugarte, as knowing him best, and being most intimate with him, received him with particular transports of joy. At first he had not a licence from the superiors to remain in California; but from his extreme desire of assisting in the new mission to the pagans, he obtained it through the interest of father Salva-Tierra, who came very opportunely for admitting him as his colleague, though thoroughly sensible of the want of so active an agent at Mexico. It was immediately agreed, that father Piccolo should go to New Spain to have the bark at Matanchel repaired, and negociate the common affairs of the mission. Accordingly he put to sea twice, but was both times driven back by foul weather: so that the voyage was laid aside till a more favourable season. On this father Piccolo returned to attend his mission of San Xavier; and father Ugarte remained with Salva-Tierra, at Loretto, in order to learn the language

language and assist where there should be the greatest occasion.

Captain don Antonio Garcia de Mendoza, still continued by his discontent to disturb the garrison, and to bring an odium upon it among the men in power: but seeing that after all his repeated complaints, no order came from Mexico to except him from a subordination to the fathers; and that these on the other hand, would not permit him to oppress the Indians by forcing them to the pearl-fishery, and other laborious employments for his advantage, he thought proper to throw up his commission.

This father Salva-Tierra was very far from objecting to, and nominated in his stead as his lieutenant, Isidoro de Figuerva, who not long after shewed himself unworthy of his preferment by a remarkable action: for the Indians of Vigge Biaundo, at the instigation of their priests and physicians, suddenly formed a design of murdering father Piccolo, and destroying his little habitation and chapel. In order to this a considerable number came down with great violence, that the brave resistance made by a few who remained faithful, proved ineffectual, but the father had providentially left the house some time before. Enraged at their disappointment they attacked the house and chapel, which they destroyed, together with all the

the furniture of both. Informed of the havock by a faithful Indian, he withdrew to Loretto. Vigge however was not to be forſaken, being the moſt proper part for ſowing of all the land yet diſcovered; the public ſafety alſo required that ſuch an attempt ſhould not paſs without animadverſions. Accordingly the lieutenant marched with a party of ſoldiers, but the Indians at ſight of them fled from their rancheria. The ſoldiers were for following them, but this, on account of the breaches, was oppoſed. The party returned ſo diſcontented with their leader as to occaſion a private choice of a captain, which, by a great majority, went in favour of the Portugueſe, don Eſtevan Rodrigues Lorenzo, who worthily filled that poſt till the year 1740. But the Indians ſeeing the low ſtate of the garriſon, obſerved no meaſures, that when the ſoldiers were whipping a Cinaloa Indian who had been treacherouſly concerned in the rebellion of San Xavier, ſome of that rancheria feigning to have no ill deſign, came near the camp, and ſhot ſome arrows at the captain and the company who purſued them to no purpoſe. Afterwards it was found neceſſary to pardon them, that the wound might not bleed afreſh: and likewiſe becauſe they had readily complied with the conditions preſcribed them.

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At the end of the ſame year 1700, father Ugarte having obtained at a ſufficient acquaintance with the language of the country, and the Vigge Indians ſhewing themſelves quiet and ſatisfied, this miſſion was by no means to be forſaken; and father Piccolo being to go to New Spain, Salva-Tierra inveſted father Ugarte with the miſſion. Accordingly he ſet out with ſome ſoldiers, but his fortitude was ſoon put to the trial. The Indians either from diſaffection, or for fear of the ſoldiers, fled up the country, ſo that for ſeveral days not one of them was to be ſeen. The ſoldiers became very troubleſome to the father, becauſe they had no Indians to wait upon them, nor would he allow that they ſhould go in ſearch of them, leſt they ſhould do them ſome injury, that at length wearied with their inſolences, he determined to diſcharge them and remain alone among ſavages, and half reconciled enemies, committing the whole to providence. Thus he ſpent the day; and at the cloſe of the night a boy came as a ſpy to the door of the college; the father received and kindly entertained him, ſo that he returned to his countrymen with a meſſage deſiring that they would come, the ſoldiers being all gone. The Indians followed one another, that after an aſtoniſhing patience and ſufferings, he had the pleaſure of ſeeing all his flock together: and

and now he began to lay a more ſolid foundation for that miſſion. But he undertook two deſigns both equally difficult. The firſt to teach and inſtruct the Indians, mildly gaining them to be preſent every day at the maſs, the roſary, and the catechiſing; and alienating them from their ſorcerers, or deceitful prieſts. The ſecond was to accuſtom them to till the land, and take care of the cattle; to civilize ſavages uſed to perpetual ſloth, and ſeeking their food among the woods. The ſtability and continuance of his new miſſion depended principally on procuring a ſubſiſtence for himſelf and his Indians, without depending on the uncertain ſuccours from the coaſt of New Spain: and this proviſion was of equal neceſſity to the garriſon of Loretto, which was every day in danger of being deſtroyed by famine; not only their cloaths and other neceſſaries, but even the very daily food being brought thither from the oppoſite coaſt, acroſs a ſea frequently very boiſterous, and in a bark and boat, both in a very crazy condition. Loretto had ſo very little ground for ſowing, that the only improvement made there was a garden of fruit trees and pot herbs; but the produce was ſcarce any thing for ſuch a number: father Ugarte therefore, who had land ſufficient and of a good kind, took upon him to inſure the common

common relief, at leaſt, for the moſt urgent neceſſity, excluſive of the maintenance of his Indians. The fatigues of body and mind, which it muſt coſt him, among ſuch a fickle, brutiſh ſet of mortals, are hardly conceivable, although too common in the ſettlement of every new miſſion.

We ſhall however mention a few particulars, from which ſome idea may be formed of the care and labour which attend theſe noble enterprizes.

In the morning after ſaying maſs, and at which he obliged them to attend with order and reſpect, he gave a breakfaſt of pozoli to thoſe who were to work, ſet them about building the church and houſes for himſelf and his Indians, clearing the ground for cultivation, making trenches for the conveyance of water, holes for planting trees, or digging and preparing the ground for ſowing. In the building part father Ugarte was maſter, overſeer, carpenter, bricklayer, and labourer. For the Indians, though animated by his example, could neither by gifts or kind ſpeeches, be prevailed upon to ſhake off their innate ſloth; and were ſure to ſlacken if they did not ſee the father work harder than any of them: ſo that he was the firſt in fetching ſtones, treading the clay, mixing the ſand, cutting, carrying

rying and barking the timber; removing the earth; and fixing materials. He was equally laborious in the other taſks, ſometimes felling trees with his ax, ſometimes with his ſpade in his hand digging up the earth, ſometimes with an iron crow ſplitting rocks, ſometimes diſpoſing the water trenches, ſometimes leading the beaſts and cattle which he had procured for his miſſion to paſture and water: thus by his own example, teaching the ſeveral kinds of labour. The Indians whoſe narrow ideas and dullneſs could not at firſt enter into the utility of theſe fatigues, which at the ſame time deprived them of their cuſtomary freedom of roving among the foreſts. On a thouſand occaſions they ſufficiently tried his patience, coming late, not caring to ſtir, running away, jeering him, and ſometimes even forming combinations, and threatening death and deſtruction: all this was to be borne with unwearied patience, having no other recourſe than affability and kindneſs, ſometimes intermixed with gravity to ſtrike reſpect; alſo taking care not to tire them, and ſuit himſelf to their weakneſs.

In the evening the father led them a ſecond time to their devotions; in which the roſary was prayed over, and the catechiſm explained; and the ſervice was followed by the diſtribution of ſome proviſions. At firſt they were very troubleſome

troubleſome all the time of the ſermon, jeſting and ſneering at what he ſaid. This the father bore with for a while, and then proceeded to reprove them: but finding they were not to be kept in order, he made a very dangerous experiment of what could be done by fear. Near him ſtood an Indian in high reputation for ſtrength; and who preſuming on this advantage, the only quality eſteemed among them, took upon himſelf to be more rude than the others. Father Ugarte who was a large man, and of uncommon ſtrength, obſerving the Indian to be in the height of his laughter, and making ſigns of mockery to the others, ſeized him by the hair and lifting him up, ſwang him to and fro: at this the reſt ran away in the utmoſt terror: they ſoon returned one after another, and the father ſo far ſucceeded to intimate them, that they behaved more regularly for the future. But he being informed that their unſeaſonable mirth was owing to the miſtakes he committed in the words and pronunciation, he applied himſelf to improve in both by means of boys, having experienced that the men, beſides their obſtinacy impoſed upon him, in order afterwards to laugh at him. However the work from the ſtupidity and ſloth of theſe unhappy creatures, went on very ſlowly. But every difficulty is ſurmountable by the

the labour and perſeverance of an aſſiduous and reſolute man, who toils for the glory of his maker.

In the ſucceeding years father Ugarte ſaw the happy fruits of his patience, having not only brought the Indians to the knowledge of the chriſtian doctrine, and a decent attendance at divine worſhip, but likewiſe to a ſuitable life without any of the diſorders of their ſavage ſtate. He inured their indocile ſloth to labour, and he had plentiful harveſts of wheat, maize, and other grains: he may be ſaid to have ſurmounted impoſſibilities, in watering and cultivating craggy and rugged grounds. He even made a conſiderable quantity of generous wine; of which, after ſupplying the miſſions in California, ſome was ſent New Spain in exchange for other goods. He likewiſe bred horſes and ſheep, and was indeed, the purveyor general of the garriſons and miſſions, who without the aſſiſtance of father Ugarte's fortitude and induſtry, could not have ſubſiſted: but no difficulty deterred him; and at laſt he brought his labours to the intended iſſue, and under a long courſe of obſtructions and impediments, he ſaw his wiſhes happily accompliſhed.

In the year 1707, all New Spain ſuffered extremely for want of rain: Cinaloa and Sonora were likewiſe reduced to great diſtreſs; California

fornia alſo had been without rain. Yet father Ugarte, writing to don Joſeph de Miranda, on the 9th of June, tells him, "It is now two months ſince ſeamen and landmen eat here good bread of our own harveſts, while the poor on the other coaſt, in Cinaloa and Sonora, are periſhing. Who would have dreamed of any ſuch thing?"

Theſe harveſts, though not ſufficient for the whole year, ſerved for leſſening the charges, and for relief in exigencies like this, even after proviſion was made for the ſubſiſtence of the Indians, the garriſons and the miſſions. But at once to give a full idea of the induſtry and zeal of this religious man, we ſhall add what he did in the following years, for cloathing his naked Indians. His ſheep, brought originally from the other coaſt, being ſufficiently increaſed, that his Indians might make the beſt uſe of their wooll, he determined to teach them the method of preparing, ſpinning, and weaving it for cloaths. Accordingly, he himſelf made the diſtaffs, ſpinning wheels, and looms. Though to forward and improve ſo beneficial a ſcheme, he ſent to Tepique for one Antonio Moran, a maſter weaver, and allowed him a ſalary of five hundred dollars. Moran ſtaid ſeveral years in California, till he had ſufficiently inſtructed the Indians in their trade and ſome

other handicrafts. By these new manufactures, he saved the vast expences of sail cloth and bays, a measure both political and pious: and the only one which, if imitated in Spain and America, for the consumption of its manufactures of all kinds, may retrieve its poverty and depopulation, to the infinite advantage of the state; the misfortunes and disgraces of which, arise principally from the want of encouragement, and consequently the want of industry in manufactories of goods, in exchange for which, both worlds are drained to enrich our enemies. These advantages, which were the works of years carried on by the zeal of father Ugarte, whose example, where possible, has been followed by the missionaries, were the more valuable from the streights, famines, and dangers of the first years. It was now the end of the year 1701, and with it ended all the provisions of the garrison of Loretto; and thus father Piccolo's departure was hastened, both to give account of the necessity, and ask supply along the coast of New Spain: and likewise that in Guadalaxara and Mexico, he might be a witness of what was seen to make so very little impression when shewn upon paper. It was the 26th of December when this father embarked, the fathers Ugarte and Salva-Tierra remaining with the people of the garrison, un-

der great ſtreights, which laſted till the 29th of January 1702, when the boat returned loaded with maize, meal, and other proviſions. But this ſupply did not laſt long, for as captain Rodrigues Lorenzo ſays in his journal, "the venerable father Salva-Tierra's benevolence in his donations to the Indians, was ſuch, that in a ſhort time our neceſſity returned upon us." In the following ſpring and ſummer, their want became very alarming, the ſupply they expected at this ſeaſon having failed, as indeed it depended only on one bark, which took up time in repairing, beſides that of collecting and loading the proviſions, and frequently of ſtruggling with bad weather. The allowances had for ſome time been reduced: but at length the whole ſtock of proviſions was ſpent, except ſome fleſh ſcarce fit for uſe, that now they were under a neceſſity of procuring their food like the Indians; looking out along the ſhore for what fiſh they could pick up, and ranging along the mountains for pitahayas and other fruits and roots; father Ugarte always being the firſt in all labours and contrivances for ſubſiſting the people.

There is no reading without a ſenſible ſympathy, the letters of the fathers, when they deſcend into particulars, about the famine and diſtreſſes which they laboured under, and their

various means of preſerving their lives. Their melancholy condition was aggravated by an inſurrection of the Indians, proceeding from the indiſcretion of a ſoldier called Poblano. He had that year married an Indian woman of the country, and who had been baptiſed: in the month of June, her mother came to the camp, and prevailed on her to quit her huſband, and go with her to partake of the dances and diverſions among the Indians at that time, being the gathering of the pitahayas. The daughter was but too ready to liſten to any propoſals for a party of pleaſure, and both ſtole away in the night-time unperceived. The ſoldier, on miſſing his wife, aſked leave of the captain to go in ſearch of her and bring her back. The captain conſented, but limited him to a certain diſtance. The ſoldier went with a comrade, and not finding her, returned. But his love or reſentment was ſuch, that within a few days he went with a Californian Indian, to a rancheria, where he heard a great deal of ſhouting and noiſy merriment. An old Indian whom he happened to meet, being informed of the motive of his coming, adviſed him by all means to go back, as otherwiſe his life would be in great danger. The ſoldier blinded by paſſion, inſulted the Indian, which he could not bear, ſo that the ſoldier ſhot him dead on the ſpot.

At

At the noiſe of the muſket, the Indians came running up from the rancheria, and immediately killed the ſoldier with their arrows. Nor did his companion, the Californian, eſcape without a wound, but returned to give an account of the affair at the camp. On this, the captain ſent notice to the fathers who were at Londo, that they might retire to Loretto. He ordered three ſoldiers who were at Santa Roſalia, the viſitation village of San Xavier de Vigge, to be upon their guard; and he himſelf marched with a part in queſt of the Indians, whilſt theſe, knowing the weakneſs of the garriſon, had ſpirited up almoſt every rancheria, to join in a general inſurrection. In this expedition our men ſuffered extremely, from hunger and a fatigue of marching among mountains, precipices, and breaches: ſome ſkirmiſhes happened, in which four or five of the inſurgents fell. Father Ugarte had ſowed ſome maize, and the firſt harveſt of it was very ſoon expected; but the Indians fell on it and quite deſtroyed it, and would have done the ſame with the chapel and houſe, if they had not found them guarded by ſome ſoldiers and Indians. But their cruelty farther diſcharged itſelf on a few goats, the milk of which, was the fathers chief ſupport in their extremity. The numbers and violence of the natives was daily increaſing, and diſtreſs and conſternation

among our men; when happily the bark arrived with a ſupply of proviſions and a few ſoldiers. This contributed by degrees to appeaſe the diſturbances, and the revolted Indians by the mediation of friends were reconciled, and tranquility ſeemed again to take place.

Among the diſagreeable circumſtances of California, it was not the leaſt, that no account had been received of father Piccolo, who, as we have ſaid, had gone to New Spain. This father, after taking meaſures in Cinaloa, for the ſpeedy ſuccour of his collegues in the miſſion, went to Guadalaxara, where he had an account of the three favourable ſchedules abovementioned; by which king Philip V. ordered an aſſignment of ſix thouſand crowns for that conqueſt, requiring an account of its condition and progreſs. The royal audience of Guadalaxara, directed him purſuant to theſe orders, to lay an account before them of the whole, which the father did in a writing dated the 10th of February 1702, and which was ſoon afterwards printed at Mexico. To this as added the depoſition of three witneſſes, who had been in California. Having concluded theſe and other affairs, he ſet out for Mexico in the beginning of March, three months before the royal ſchedule had come to hand; and father Alexandro Romano, had actually preſented a memorial

memorial to the governor, requeſting the payment of ſix thouſand dollars, ſetting forth, at the ſame time, the extreme neceſſity and danger both of the garriſon and the fathers; but without obtaining any anſwer. On the arrival of father Piccolo, a memorial was preſented; and this was ſent to the treaſurer. But though he confirmed the whole truth of the requeſt, only three thouſand dollars were ordered to be advanced: and when he brought this order to the caſhier's office, he was told that it could not be paid, as by an order from Spain, of 1696, no payment was to be made, without ſpecifying the branch of the revenue, out of which it was to be taken. This the fathers complained of, as his majeſty's intention was ſo clearly expreſſed. The treaſurer ſtood their friend, and in an aſſembly of the 29th of April, after all their witneſſes and papers were examined, an order was given to pay them the ſix thouſand dollars. But their other petition for a veſſel, ſix ſoldiers and three miſſionaries, was put off, till an account was ſent to his majeſty, together with the memorial and other writings relating to California.

Father Piccolo had received the ſum of money appointed for the pay of the garriſon, and with the benevolences he could collect, he purchaſed the goods deſired in the memorials, and

got ready a relief for the moſt urgent neceſſities: none was ſo great as that of the miſſionaries, which touched the heart of don Joſeph de la Puente, marquis de Villa Puente, a nobleman whoſe amazing charity muſt for ever endear his memory to all mankind: Europe, America, and Aſia, had felt the happy effects of his diffuſive benevolence: and now he offered immediately to ſupport three miſſions, and don Nicolas de Arteaga and his lady, had offered to found another.

The funds being thus ſecured for the maintenance of four miſſions, father Piccolo waited on the provincial Franciſco de Arteaga, deſiring that he would appoint them: but the paucity of proper ſubjects, the number of prieſts in that province ſeldom exceeding three hundred, and the neceſſity of providing for the multitude of colleges and miſſions, through the immenſe continent of S. America, would not admit of nominating more than two, who were father Juan Manuel de Baſſaldua, a native of Mechoacan, and father Geronimo Minutili a Sardinian; a veſſel was purchaſed at Acapulco, called Nueſtra Senora del Roſario, and being rigged and part of her cargo taken in, father Minutili brought her to Matanchel in New Galicia, where the fathers embarked with all the neceſſaries that were wanting. They had a pleaſant voyage

voyage as far as the gulf, but there they were overtaken by a violent tempeſt, that they were obliged to throw over-board all the part of their cargo which was upon the deck. But at laſt the fury of the wind ceaſed, the ſea gradually grew calm, and they came into the bay of Loretto on Saturday the 28th of October, where a ſolemn thankſgiving was performed.

The joy of the few which remained in the garriſon, the others having been diſcharged, through an inability of continuing their pay, may be conceived from the diſtreſſes they had undergone, all crowding about father Piccolo with warm effuſions of thanks for his expedition. And now father Juan Maria, with this freſh reinforcement of handicraftſmen, and the ſecurity of the royal fund, though but ſcanty for the garriſon, conceived higher deſigns; and that they might be executed in the beſt manner, and with diſpatch, he conferred with all the fathers on the propereſt meaſures. By them it was reſolved that father Ugarte ſhould go over to the continent to procure cattle, in order for breeding, and horſes and mules for tillage, the ſervice of the miſſions, and for progreſſes up the country; that father Minutili ſhould ſtay in Loretto with father Salva-Tierra; and that father Baſſaldua ſhould go to San Xavier with father Piccolo, to learn the language, aſſiſt him and accuſtom

cuſtom himſelf to the functions. Though father Ugarte ſailed in the beginning of November, the N. W. wind, after being ſome days at ſea, obliged him to put back. But ſetting ſail a ſecond time, in December, he happily arrived at San Joſeph de Guaymas, on the coaſt of Pimeria, whence, in February 1703, he returned to California, with a good quantity of black cattle, ſheep, horſes, mules, and proviſions. Father Salva-Tierra had not neglected in the mean time, to make ſome progreſſes, but of no great extent, by reaſon of his attendants travelling on foot, and the country being rocky and craggy; with this new reinforcement, he carried his attempts farther, and on the firſt of March of the ſame year 1703, he ſet out to take a ſurvey of the oppoſite weſtern coaſt along the South ſea. Being attended by the captain, ſome ſoldiers, and Californians, he took his way by the miſſion of San Xavier de Vigge, and the town of Santa Roſalia: in the latter he was joined by the fathers Piccolo and Baſſaldua. They reached the oppoſite coaſt without finding any Indians, and travelled over part of it, both towards the South and North, without meeting ſo much as one proper harbour or creek for ſhelter: and though ſome of the grounds promiſed pretty well for tillage, they were quite deſtitute of water, and on the other hand,

hand, no reliance can be had on the rains in a country, where, by experience, they are known to be extremely irregular and uncertain. They travelled on ſouthward to the little river San Xavier, which iſſues into the ſea through ſome creeks, which abounds in fiſh of the teſtaceous and other kinds. Here they ſaw at a diſtance, ſome Indian men and women, who immediately betook themſelves to flight. But ſome Californians who were ſent after them, removed their fears. In their return, they paſſed by two rancherias, whom they encouraged to come nearer to San Xavier de Vigge, and without meeting any tract fit for a ſettlement, on account of the want of water, they ſoon after came to Loretto. The ſecond journey was in May, and towards the north, in order to take a view of a certain river beyond the bay of Conception, which they did not queſtion but that it would prove very convenient for ſettling a miſſion on its banks. When they were near the bay, which is forty leagues from Loretto, they came to a large rancheria of Indians, who at ſight of them made ready their arrows; but father Ugarte advancing with the Californians, who were his guides and interpreters, they received him very courteouſly. Theſe Indians informed them, that it was ſtill a long way from Conception to the river, and full of craggs and abyſſes; ſo that it

was

was thought improper to undertake ſuch a laborious taſk at that time: and this diſcovery was deferred to be performed by ſea, at a more favourable opportunity.

But a diſmal cloud ſoon overſpread part of California: ſome Indians arriving in a fright from the miſſion of San Xavier with advice, that the malecontents of their rancheria, at the inſtigation of the wretch who had headed the laſt conſpiracy, had formed themſelves into a body with other rancherias, and in one night's time, had maſſacred all the adult catechumens, except thoſe who found means to eſcape to the garriſon. This was received with all the concern the caſe required, and it was unanimouſly reſolved, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to make an example of theſe barbarians, who were known chiefly to conſiſt of the murderers of the ſoldier Poblano, and whom the connivance at that action, had ſpirited up to farther outrages, no longer to be ſuffered. The captain, with the ſoldiers, and a party of Indians, ſurpriſed the rebels at midnight, but very few ſtood their ground; ſo only very few were killed, but, among them, one who was very active in the maſſacre. The leader of the conſpiracy, who had been in moſt of the diſturbances, eſcaped; and it would not have been prudent for our men to have ventured

ventured themſelves in an unknown rocky country, in purſuit of him: but the captain determined to check the ſeditious, and accordingly with an air of great reſentment, threatened all the Indians, who being countrymen of the ſlaughtered catechumens, had remained at San Xavier, or immediately repaired thither, that he would purſue them without pity, till they delivered up the leader of the rebellion dead or alive; accordingly within a few days he was brought alive. The captain formally tried him on the depoſitions of his countrymen, which indeed were all confirmed by his own confeſſion. It was diſcovered that he had ſeveral times intended to cut off the fathers and ſoldiers; and that, failing in this deſign, he had once turned his rage againſt the chapel and images, and laſtly in ſuch a barbarous manner againſt the catechumens. He appeared alſo to have had the chief hand in the killing of Poblano, and to have put the Indian women upon marrying with Spaniards, in order to bring about more diſaſters of the like nature: laſtly, that from the beginning, he had been the leading incendiary in moſt of the revolts, and conſequently deſerved death; accordingly the captain pronounced his ſentence, but before proceeding to execution, he adviſed the fathers at Loretto of it. Father Piccolo came immediately, and was

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for ſetting him at liberty, but could not prevail. Soon after came likewiſe father Salva-Tierra, who propoſed that he ſhould be baniſhed for ever to the other ſide of California, but the captain remained inflexible in his opinion, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to make a publick example of him; and all that could be obtained, was a reſpite for catechiſing him in order to baptiſm. This was done to the great ſatisfaction of the criminal, who was of more lively parts than the reſt of his countrymen, and had already a ſufficient knowledge of our holy myſteries. Being baptiſed, he became another man, and deſired death, as what he had well deſerved, and forewarned his countrymen againſt the like crimes. In his laſt hours he was aſſiſted by father Baſſaldua, the fathers Piccolo and Salva-Tierra, from the tenderneſs of their diſpoſition, being withdrawn to Loretto. The Indians every where being ſo humbled by this ſeaſonable ſeverity, that for a long time not the leaſt diſturbance appeared among them.

The profound tranquility of the Indians was an opportunity for the eſtabliſhment of new miſſions, which was not to be overlooked. Two were immediately wanting, one ſouth of Loretto, on the coaſt of Ligui or Malabat, which was ſaid to be a very convenient ſpot, and the other northward, by the ſide of the river,

river, which, in May, father Ugarte had made a fruitleſs ſearch after by land. But a certain account of it was brought by the bark, which contrary winds had driven there, in one of her voyages to Yaqui. In order to take a particular ſurvey of it, the fathers Piccolo and Baſſaldua, with the captain and ſome ſoldiers went thither the latter end of Auguſt in the garriſon's bark. They ſteered northward up the gulf, and a little beyond Conception bay, found the mouth of the river, which, in the country tongue was called Mulege, behind cape de los Virgines; having landed, they went up the country about a league, by the river ſide, to the ſpot where afterwards was founded the miſſion of Santa Roſalia: here, in order to a farther view of the country, as being very rugged and mountainous, beaſts were neceſſary, and they all re-embarked, and went over to the oppoſite coaſt, in order to bring them. Father Andres de Cervantes, miſſionary of Yaqui, immediately furniſhed them with beaſts, and father Piccolo remaining with two ſeculars, to collect contributions in the miſſions of Sonora, for that under him then in its infancy in California, father Baſſaldua returned with the reſt to the river Mulege. Here they underwent great fatigues in ſurveying the country, in order to find a way along the mountains, lying betwixt the

N. and N. W. of Loretto. This was a ſervice abſolutely neceſſary to the foundation of the miſſion, for ſuch a communication by land was of indiſpenſible neceſſity towards the ſettlement of a miſſion; but after all their endeavours, the country was found impenetrable, and they were a ſecond time obliged to re-embark, and went to Conception bay, which lies but two leagues from the river Mulege. Here having ſent the bark to Guaymas, they went by the way which had been diſcovered, and partly cleared the preceding May to San Juan de Londo, now the viſitation town, where the venerable father Salva-Tierra was, and immediately from thence to Loretto, whither they were called by by the following misfortune.

Purſuant to the prudent orders of the viceroy, for putting a ſtop to the violences committed in the pearl fiſhery, which had been one of the main impediments to the converſion of the Californians, none were to go from the coaſt of New Spain, either to fiſh or trade for pearls without licence from the government; and before putting it in practice, to ſhow it to the captain of the new garriſon of Loretto: however, two veſſels had preſumed without any ſuch licence, to fiſh for pearls betwixt the iſlands. But a ſtorm, in which the garriſon's bark, in going from Conception to Guaymas, was very near being loſt, drove

drove these two smuggling vessels ashore in San Dionysio bay; the crew, which were near seventy in number, having with great difficulty saved themselves, immediately made towards the garrison for assistance. Soon after fourteen other men were seen in boats, the unhappy remains of another vessel lost by the same storm. These unhappy people could not be denied cloathing and food, though the refitting of the two stranded vessels took up some months. And this act of charity, expended almost the whole supply which father Piccolo had a little before brought from Yaqui. Towards the close of the year, the fourteen who had suffered shipwreck were carried over to the continent, along with father Minutili, who, as California by no means agreed with his health, was appointed missionary of Tibutama in Sonora, as assistant to father Kino.

SECT. VII.

His majesty's gracious orders concerning the mission, its great difficulties and distresses in the year 1704, both in CALIFORNIA and Mexico; father Salva-Tierra appointed provincial of New Spain.

The whole Californian mission, was in extreme distress at the beginning of the year 1704,

the 7th of this new conqueſt; and which was very near being the laſt. The veſſel called the Roſario, ſtood in need of large repairs, which could be done only on the other ſide, from whence they were to bring the caſh, and orders for payment of the ſoldiers; and likewiſe goods of abſolute neceſſity for the miſſions and the fathers. On the 12th of February, father Baſſaldua ſet ſail in it for Matanchel, from whence he proceeded to Guadalaxara and Mexico. Father Piccolo went again in the San Xavier bark, to Guaymas, the miſſion of San Joſeph there having been annexed to California; that, being under the ſame ſuperior and viſitor, there might be a greater harmony and the ſupplies of proviſions and beaſts, which California ſtood in need of, be more ready and convenient. The active father Piccolo went to and fro, bringing all that he could poſſibly collect on the oppoſite coaſt, for the ſupport of the garriſon; but it is not to be thought that he could collect a ſufficiency for ſuch a number of people. A great part of the proviſions was ſpoiled, partly by lying in the ſtore-houſe and by the damages of the ſea; and the boiſterouſneſs of the latter did not always admit of the tranſportation, eſpecially as the bark, their only vehicle, was in a weak condition.

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In the mean time father Baſſaldua made himſelf ſure, that, on coming to Mexico, all the difficulties and ſtreights of his beloved California would ſoon be at an end: and that the reduction and conqueſt of it for the king would be ſoon accompliſhed. But he quickly ſaw the deluſion of theſe hopes, though in themſelves not ill grounded. In the preceding year 1703, the fathers Bernard Rolendigui and Nicholas de Vera, had gone from Mexico to Madrid and Rome, as agents of the province of Mexico. They preſented to the young king, don Philip V. a memorial and report of the miſſion eſtabliſhed in California, its ſtate to that time, the ſpiritual and temporal advantages to his dominions that might be expected, if his majeſty would be pleaſed effectually to encourage the miſſions; the means and meaſures for rendering ſuch encouragement effectual, and the damages which the crown would ſuffer from the relinquiſhment of the enterpriſe, which had been begun with a fairer proſpect of ſucceſs than ever. On the 16th of June, this memorial was read in the ſupreme council of the Indies, his majeſty being preſent in perſon: and before him the matter was fully diſcuſſed, and the treaſurer of the council was directed to report his opinion, agreeable to the former accounts, as thoſe ſent for from the government of Mex-

ico were not yet come, and the affair would not admit of farther delays. On the report of the treaſurer on the 28th of September 1703, his majeſty ſigned five warrants: the firſt, directed to the viceroy, contained an order, that for the future the benevolence uſually given to the miſſionaries of Cinaloa, Sonora, and New Biſcay, ſhould be transferred to the miſſionaries of California; and that likewiſe they ſhould be furniſhed with bells, oil, ornaments, and other things uſually given to new miſſions; that the viceroy ſhould hold a meeting of military officers, jeſuits, and perſons acquainted with the country and thoſe coaſts, in order to ſettle, as far north as poſſible, a garriſon, with thirty ſoldiers and a commander, to be nominated by the viceroy, for the defence of the country, as a ſafe receptacle to the Philippine ſhips; that a veſſel of a proper burden ſhould be purchaſed for the tranſportation of the people, to be manned with eight men and a maſter; and likewiſe for carrying neceſſaries to the miſſion; that every year, notwithſtanding the warrants of 1696, there ſhould be paid without any deduction or delay, ſeven thouſand dollars out of the treaſury of Guadalaxara, over and above the ſix thouſand already aſſigned for this ſervice. Laſtly, his majeſty required an account to be tranſmitted to him of the miſ-

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ſions, founded by private perſons: alſo that the pearl fiſhery ſhould be again ſet on foot, taking due care to prevent any complaints, by ſeverely puniſhing every violence, fraud, or riot, and that for peopling and ſecuring the conqueſt, endeavours ſhould be uſed for ſending poor families thither from New Spain. The other four ſchedules were gratulatory; that to don Joſeph de Miranda Villizan, the treaſurer of Guadalaxara, and the father provincial of the ſociety, for their zeal; and thoſe to don Juan Cavalero y Ocio, and the congregation of Los Dolores, for the foundation of three miſſions, by their charitable donations. The ſchedules came to the viceroy's hands on the 11th of April 1704, and being referred to the treaſurer, he made his report on the 18th of the ſame month, that the contents of them ought entirely and abſolutely to be fulfilled. Now father Baſſaldua was in the height of joy, and thinking that at length the time was come, when he ſhould ſee his miſſion ſettled on a ſure foundation, and his proſperity daily increaſing, he poured out his fervent thanks to God. But ſo far from it, that the viceroy referred the ſchedule, and the treaſurer's anſwer to a general aſſembly, at which were to aſſiſt, father Piccolo, who was ſaid to be at Acapulco, when he was at Guaymas the leaſt frequented harbour in the gulf of California,

lifornia, as likewiſe father Salva-Tierra, who was alſo in California. To the latter, the father viſitor Manuel Peneyro ſent letters, ſummoning him to Mexico; but in the mean time, the new royal warrant remained without any effect, notwithſtanding the zeal and ſtrength with which his majeſty, from his care for religion, had expreſſed his royal intentions. Father Baſſaldua deſired that at leaſt the ſix thouſand dollars, ordered by the warrant of 1701, for the garriſon might be paid; but this alſo was denied him, on the plea of the great damage the fleet had ſuſtained from the enemy, in Vigo harbour in Galicia; and that it was neceſſary to employ what money was in the treaſury, on affairs of greater importance. But the true cauſe of this refuſal of ſuccours for California, both at that time and ſince, and of the various means, by which the ſtricteſt orders of the king were eluded, was (omitting thoſe before obſerved) the zeal of his majeſty's miniſters, for ſending to Spain, as much ſpecie as they well could, it being a juncture, in which indeed his majeſty ſtood in need of all poſſible ſuccours, a great part of Europe being leagued together to deprive him of his crown; and if the royal revenue was laid out on new ſalaries, veſſels, conqueſts, miſſionaries, and garriſons, there would be but a ſmall ſurplus to remit to

Spain,

Spain. On this very account, the more admirable was the magnanimity and devotion of that incomparable prince, Philip V. who, rising above all the troubles and dangers in which, at that time, not only his dominions, but even his person were exposed, never ceased sending the most explicit and peremptory orders, for the prosecution of these apostolical and useful enterprises. The disaster of the fleet at Vigo affected the far greatest part of the New Spain benefactors to the mission of California; the consequence of which was, that father Bassaldua, could collect but a small share among them, for the relief of his mission: That he could only refit his bark, and buy up a few necessaries; and with these, accompanied by father Pedro Ugarte, who procured himself to be nominated to succeed father Minutili in California, as his brother John had done, he put to sea, and at the end of June, came to San Dionysio bay, though with little comfort, either to himself or the garrison of Loretto.

The fathers and soldiers in California, were now in great streights, and towards the end of summer, their necessity became extreme: both the larger and smaller vessel, bound to the continent for provisions, having, by the hard gales at N. W. being twice obliged to put back empty. The men of the garrison, who, with

the ſeamen and Indians of New Spain, amounted to ſixty perſons, could not conceal their diſcontent, which was, that the bills they had petitioned for at Mexico, on account of their pay, were not arrived: and it was known that the love and reſpect which they bore to the fathers, whom they ſaw in no leſs diſtreſs than themſelves, was the only conſideration which reſtrained them from entirely quitting the garriſon. The want of every neceſſary of life, at laſt, increaſed to ſuch a degree, that father Juan Maria thought it neceſſary to call together all the fathers and the captain, to deliberate whether the miſſion ſhould be forſaken or not. The venerable father himſelf, was indeed determined to remain among his Californians, if by himſelf; and this diſpoſition he had made known to the treaſurer Miranda, on the 8th of February of the ſame year, "I, for my part, will remain here, without a ſingle ſoldier, whatever riſk may be in it; and, I believe, father Ugarte is of the ſame mind." They were the only two who remained there, the fathers Piccolo and Baſſaldua being abſent. But it was not reaſonable that this extremity ſhould be obtruded upon the others, who, if they were diſpoſed to ſacrifice themſelves, were not to be deprived of the merit and glory of a free option, nor was it prudent, purely out of zeal and

and firmneſs, to expoſe ſuch a number of perſons to periſh, nor to load one's ſelf with the odium of the loſs of all, if ſuch a thing happened. It was abſolutely proper to appeaſe the diſcontents of the garriſon, which were as juſt as they were irremediable. All the fathers, the captain, and another officer of the garriſon being met, the venerable father Juan Maria addreſſed them to the following purpoſe; that there was no need of repreſenting to them the preſent melancholy ſituation of affairs, as they unhappily ſaw it and felt it: that however they could not impute it to any want of diligence in him, having been eye-witneſſes of his attention and labour, that they alſo were not ignorant of father Baſſaldua's ill ſucceſs at Mexico, and that at preſent no ſpeedy ſuccour was to be expected from that quarter; that this garriſon and miſſion deſerved, in a particular manner, his majeſty's munificence, and had already informed them of the royal ſchedules paſſed in September of the preceding year: that he was ſummoned to Mexico, to confer concerning the execution of them; but that he would not ſtir out of California, till his miſſion was either relieved or broke up: that as the execution of theſe ſchedules was retarded, and the neceſſity grew every day more preſſing, without hopes of relief, and the conqueſt being continually expoſed to the

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ſame fluctuations, he deſired that they would freely and unreſervedly determine, whether they ſhould, together with the Californians who were willing to follow them, all withdraw in the greater and leſſer veſſel, to the coaſt of New Spain, and there wait a more favourable juncture of returning to the conqueſt and reduction of California, under the powerful aſſiſtance of the king. Father Piccolo, as founder, that he might not, by his vote, hinder thoſe of the reſt, ſpoke with an entire indifference on the alternative. But father Ugarte reſolutely oppoſed their quitting the country, moving that all the people who were deſirous of going, ſhould be diſcharged with certificates for their pay; that as to the reſt, he engaged to provide wild food for the Indians, till proviſions came from the other ſide of the ſea; and that as for himſelf, he could be perfectly content with the pitahayas, fruits, and roots, which his Californian friends eat. He was ſeconded by the fathers Pedro Ugarte, Baſſaldua, and Piccolo, to the great joy of father Salva-Tierra. The captain and the others, who had been ſent for from the garriſon, alarmed at ſuch a propoſal, went ſo far as to ſay, that they would ſolemnly proteſt againſt the fathers, if the country was quitted. Nevertheleſs, notice was given to the people, that whoever would, might embark in the two veſſels

veſſels which were going to the continent of New Spain, and bills ſhould be given them for the payment of their arrears: but one and all in the camp, inſtead of embracing the offer, cried out that they would live night and day with the fathers, rather than leave them. In the mean time came on ſome fair weather, and the bark went with father Piccolo to Guaymas, and the veſſel to the river Yaqui, with letters for the miſſionaries. Father Juan Ugarte ſometimes by himſelf, ſometimes accompanied by ſoldiers and convert Indians, went about among the woods and eminences, gathering fruits and digging up roots, which were brought to Loretto. The like was done by the Indians of San Xavier and San Juan de Londo, as a proof of their fidelity, and their readineſs to defend them, and revenge their murderers. Thus all concurred in an heroick patience, quietly to bear the ſad extremity to which they were now reduced. In the midſt of it, father Salva-Tierra in whoſe mind the chief concern always predominated, went to take a view of the tract of Ligui or Malibat, ſouth of Loretto, where, as we have ſaid, it was propoſed to found another miſſion, as that intended on the river Mulege on the north ſide was impracticable, on account of the difficulty of the way. It was the 12th of July when he came to the

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ſpot, having with him only father Pedro Ugarte, a ſoldier, and two Indians as his interpreters, the language being ſomething different from that of Loretto: but on advancing towards the rancheria, they were put in no ſmall fear, a great number of Indians ſuddenly ſallying out of an ambuſh, began furiouſly to ſhoot their arrows at them, on which the ſoldier Franciſco Xavier Valenzuela, with one hand drew his ſcymeter and brandiſhed it, and with the other fired off a muſketoon in the air, only to frighten them, as it moſt effectually did; for the Indians at hearing the loud exploſion, threw themſelves on the ground with their weapons; and ſoon after ſat down, ſilently waiting for their new gueſts. The father then acquainted them by his interpreters, that they had no need to be afraid, that they did not come to do them any harm, but to entertain them and enter into friendſhip with them. On this they all drew near, and the father, who was known to ſome, embraced them, and made little preſents to them all, telling them that as a ſign of peace and friendſhip, he came to bring them to father Ugarte, who was juſt landed in the country to live with them, to aſſiſt them and take care of them as his children, and inſtruct them in the way to heaven. On this they ſhewed themſelves open and friendly,

and

and as a proof of their good diſpoſitions cauſed their children and wives to appear. They took a view of the country, and found that it would fully anſwer for ſettling there the head of a miſſion. But as the difficulties they laboured under at that time, would not admit of their beginning a chapel or any other building; or the cultivation of the land, all they did was, that father Ugarte had the pleaſure of taking poſſeſſion of his miſſion by the baptiſm of forty-eight children, whom the mothers eaſily offered, and they returned to Loretto to the great grief of the Indians, to whom, however, they promiſed they would ſoon return and that father Ugarte ſhould come with them.

The veſſel and bark returned at the latter end of Auguſt with proviſions from the river Yaqui San Joſeph de Guaymas, to the great comfort of the people of the garriſon: in this year father Salva-Tierra was inſtead of father Pineyro appointed viſitor of the miſſions of Cinaloa and Sonora. But he delayed this viſitation partly that he might not leave his beloved California under ſuch diſtreſs, and partly from the notice he had received, that he was expected at the aſſembly, which the king had ordered to be held at Mexico; a voyage which he alſo put off in regard to the former motive. He now received freſh letters acquainting him that the

the concerns of California, were ſuſpended till he ſhould come to Mexico: and as he now could leave his miſſion, provided for ſome time, and with hopes of larger and more regular ſupplies from the miſſions of Sonora and Cinaloa, he determined to embark without delay for Spain. However he found himſelf again obliged to defer it till the end of September, both for celebrating the dedication of the new church of Loretto, on the day of the nativity of our lady, an office, which, for the greater ſolemnity, was accompanied with the baptiſm of ſeveral adults, though the uſual time for theſe was at Eaſter and Whitſuntide, according to the ancient uſage of the church, as verified in the Roman ritual; and alſo for giving orders concerning the miſſions, particularly the command of the garriſon. Some diſguſts had happened among the ſoldiery, who obliged the worthy Portugueſe Eſtevan Lorenzo to lay down his commiſſion, though he was very well ſatisfied with his poſt; as likewiſe with the fathers, nor could all the entreaties of the latter prevail for his continuance in it. The enſign Iſidro Grumeque alſo reſigned, offering himſelf to accompany the father to Mexico, which he did. Hereupon, for captain-lieutenant, the father appointed Nicolas Marques, a Sicilian, and the poſt of captain was filled by don Juan Baptiſta

Eſcalante, at that time enſign in the garriſon of Nacoſari in Sonora, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt the Apaches: but the ſupreme government of the garriſon and miſſion, he conferred on father Juan Ugarte, giving him, at his requeſt, inſtructions how to act on all occaſions. Thus having regulated every thing, he ſet out on the firſt of October from Matanchel for Guadalaxara; there he ſtaid till the 26th of the ſame month, conferring with the members of that audience, and eſpecially with Sennor Miranda, now auditor. In the mean time, on the 21ſt of the ſame month, died at Mexico Manuel Pineyro, father viſitor, and on opening the ſecond letter from Rome, father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra was found to be appointed provincial. He arrived at Mexico in the beginning of November, little thinking of ſuch news; and endeavoured to be excuſed from ſuch a difficult employment; his heart was entirely taken up with his Californian miſſion, and with great humility and ſtrength he laid before the conſiſtory of the province his reaſons for accepting it. But he was overcome by the cuſtoms of the fathers, who would not admit of his plea from a perſuaſion, that it was for the advantage of his own beloved miſſion and all the others, that he ſhould be provincial, and act as ſuch. Hereupon he took on him the

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ſpiritual government of the province; but without delay wrote to the father, general Thyrſo Gonzales, for permiſſion to reſign his office, that he might have the pleaſure of dying among his Californians. He obtained from the viceroy, with great reputation to himſelf, the Reforma, or continuance of their pay to his two companions, the captain and enſign of the garriſon, and began to take in hand the other affairs of his miſſion.

SECT. VIII.

Father Salva-Tierra's farther ſervices to CALIFORNIA; his majeſty's favours; obſtacles in Mexico againſt his miſſion; he viſits it in the quality of provincial.

The new provincial waited on his excellency the viceroy, to give him a full account of the ſtate of the miſſion of California, and to deſire that he would be pleaſed to comply with the joint orders of his majeſty and the ſupreme council of the Indians. In purſuance of which, had been held the general junto or aſſembly of the 6th of June, though the fathers and others, acquainted with the country, were not preſent as had been directed. The treaſurer's report concerning the immediate payment both of the old and new aſſignments for the miſſions, veſſels, and

and garriſon was unanimouſly agreed to: but the article for the eſtabliſhment of a new garriſon on the South-ſea coaſt, and the number of ſoldiers, was put off till the fathers and others who were acquainted with that country, and the ſea, ſhould be heard. Notwithſtanding all this, no actual payment was made, not even of the former aſſignment of 6000 dollars, only in a letter of the 24th of September of the ſame year 1704, his majeſty was given to underſtand, that by an act of the council, the execution of his majeſty's ſchedule of the 28th of December 1703, had been deferred till they had conferred with father Salva-Tierra, who for this purpoſe had been ſent for from California to confer with about the ſeveral particulars.

The viceroy with great politeneſs and condeſcenſion, gave a very long hearing to the new provincial, and was indeed charmed with his apoſtolic zeal, humility, ſweetneſs, magnanimity, and likewiſe with his abilities. He admitted of the neceſſity of complying with the king's orders, and the father's requeſt. The miniſters of the royal audience alſo admitted him to a conference, and were equally convinced by his arguments. There was now the moſt favourable conjuncture for holding a meeting of perſons acquainted with the country; there being then at Mexico the founder of the miſſion, the cap-

tain and enſign of the garriſon, and many others who had been a voyage to the Philippine iſlands, but no junto or meeting was held; nor were there ſo much as any hopes given that it would be held; ſo that the provincial Salva-Tierra, finding obſtacles raiſed on all ſides, ſet out on the viſitation of the college, and did not return to Mexico till after Lent 1705. At that time ſome hopes were given for holding the junto, and he prepared a written memorial relating to the royal ſchedule to be laid before it. On the 25th of May the father ſigned it, and I ſhall inſert it here, as it ſhews the thoughts of that worthy man on theſe matters; as likewiſe the chriſtian ſimplicity and frankneſs, with which he expreſſes himſelf.

May it pleaſe your excellency,

I Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra of the ſociety of Jeſus, ſent for by your excellency, purſuant to his majeſty's ſchedule dated the 28th of October 1703, requiring your excellency to hear the opinion of the fathers: and in obedience to the ſaid ſchedule and your excelleney's order, I came in little more than a month from California to this city. And on my arrival it was ſignified to me that father Manuel Penyro was dead; and by his death I became provincial of this province of New Spain, and likewiſe miſſionary

miſſionary of California. In obedience to his majeſty's ſchedule, I take the liberty of repreſenting the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting in California with only one veſſel, as for ſeven years and a half we have always had three: yet by the accidents of the ſea, the ſtranding of them, and ſometimes their total loſs; the long ſtay for their repairing and careening, for want of ſtores, ſupplies, contributions, and officers; the diſtance of harbours and creeks where they might careen, have frequently ſuffered great diſtreſſes. For the enterpriſe is ſo new and recent, that as yet no way more ready and convenient has been diſcovered.

And it would not have been otherwiſe, tho' plentifully ſupported by money, as in the time of don Iſidro da Otando, who had the royal treaſury at command; for of three conſiderable veſſels built on purpoſe for the Californian ſervice, the bilander never ſaw California, and all the reſult was a fruitleſs expence to his majeſty, loſs of ſtores and proviſions, beſides the charge of artificers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen: and the two veſſels called the Captain and the Admiral, were of very little ſervice, and the ſettlement at the harbour de la Paz, the very centre of the Placeres, or pearl banks, was diſgracefully forſaken, the Admiral not coming with ſupplies in time. Another wretched piece of miſ-

conduct was, the provoking the Guaycura nation which lived in the neighbourhood, by the murder of the Indians, who ſat round a large kettle feaſting on boiled maize, to which the admiral had invited them. He afterwards made a ſettlement 70 leagues higher up, and was there ten months without ſo much as ſeeing a ſingle veſſel.

Secondly, I repreſent to your excellency the barrenneſs of the country. For from the time of Ferdinand Cortes and many others, who have landed there ſince during the ſpace of 180 years, there has been no poſſibility of peopling it, a certain ſign that they met with very great difficulties; and had not on this occaſion the moſt holy virgin of Loretto been the conquereſs and ſettler, what has been done could never have been executed, at leaſt could not have ſubſiſted. I was not a novice when I undertook this plan, but grown old among the labours of New Biſcay, where it was my happineſs, by means of the chearful commerce of the Spaniards, both ſoldiers and inhabitants, and my friendſhip with the Indians, to check the inſurrections of thoſe people.

Thus from my ſaid knowledge and experience, I in the third place lay before your excellency, the almoſt certain danger of loſing this country, if in theſe beginnings the fathers have not the power of

of appointing or diſplacing the commander of this ſmall body of ſoldiers. For, I know by experience, that without this power, I ſhould not have been able to have gone a ſingle ſtep up the country of California: and ſhould have ſpent much more time in the firſt place where we landed. And the commanders, for fear of being again removed, had, at the earneſt exhortation of the fathers, ſupported by authority, made diſcoveries and taken ſurveys of the country.

I add, that the pearls are a ſtrong allurement; and had not the fathers by means of that authority prevented inconveniences, ſome violent ſpirits would, as was formerly too often the practice, under ſeveral pretences, have compelled the Indians, both gentiles and chriſtians, to fiſh by laying a tax upon them. Of this compulſion, the neceſſary conſequence would be an inſurrection; and thence the loſs of the country, on account of its ruggedneſs, which would not admit of any horſe being employed for the recovery of it: likewiſe for the eaſe of the Spaniſh ſoldiers, who, in ſo diſtant a country and divided by the ſea, owned that they lived more quietly under the protection of the fathers or the ſuperior, as he can remove the captain, and they may promiſe themſelves that no oppreſſion or hardſhip will be put upon them from

their quarters: and to ſuch oppreſſions and jealouſies this country is very much addicted: for inſtance, an Indian goes and ſells a good pearl to a ſoldier of his acquaintance, preferably to the captain, who is ſure to look always with an evil eye on the ſoldier and the Indian; and if the Spaniſh ſoldier will not let him have it at his own price, he flies into a paſſion and proceeds to extremity, as was ſeen on many occaſions in Otondo's time, who, on ſeveral occaſions, was near loſing his life by the hands of the ſoldiers and mariners.

The taking away this power from the fathers, I alſo add, will leſſen the charity of his majeſty's ſubjects, as contributions will riſe or fall with their confidence of the proper and ſucceſsful employment of them: but now they will have reaſon to fear that what they do with one hand, is undone by another. This likewiſe will put a ſtop to the perſonal ſuccours both of Spaniards and of the Indians of New Biſcay, who whether Californians, Indians and Spaniards, at one word from the fathers, quit their lands and come in barks as happened three years ago, when a bark of Cinaloa Spaniards came to our aſſiſtance; and the warriors among the moſt faithful nation of the Yaqui did the ſame coming over in a veſſel, all very well armed, and landed at Loretto in California.

Whereas

Whereas this change of power would discourage both the Indians and Spaniards, as they could not trust to the protection and paternal love of the fathers; and would be one of the greatest detriments which could befall this new conquest, it being well known that don Isidro de Otondo, the admiral of California, captain of the garrison of Cinaloa, and governor of that province, with all his authority and repeated orders from the viceroy, could not raise a single Indian volunteer in Cinaloa and Sonora. And the few he preferred on account of their crimes, continued to act agreeably to their character, and caused the first insurrection after their entrance. And I affirm that all the said motives aim only at the preservation of the country, and the lasting establishment of christianity in it.

I likewise think proper to represent to your excellency, that the money expended in this enterprise till this day, amounts to twelve hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, exclusive of the foundation of six missions, which amount to fifty-eight thousand dollars; and of these sums the treasury, during so many years to the present time, has paid only eighteen thousand dollars, and the whole large remainder has been procured by the cares and great labours of the fathers of the society. From all

which accrues a great ſervice to his majeſty, and ſaving to his treaſury. And it was in regard to this ſervice, that I requeſted of his majeſty a party of twenty-five ſoldiers with a commander, purely for the good of the country: A requeſt which I do not think equal to the magnanimous diſpoſition of our king.

I forbear animadverting on the reſolution taken by the royal council in 1685, relating to the abandoning of California, after a large and fruitleſs expence. This council ſummoned the father provincial of the ſociety: and in his abſence the vice-provincial father Daniel Angelo Marras; and to him it was propoſed, and his compliance at the ſame time ſtrongly ſolicited, that the reverend ſociety would take upon themſelves the whole enterpriſe of California, in conſideration of which they ſhould be annually allowed forty thouſand dollars from the treaſury. And the ſaid father Daniel Angelo Marras having called together the conſiſtory of the province, they declined the propoſal. It is true, that the father provincial Bernabé de Soto returning from his viſitation, began to ſee that, in refuſing the offer, the welfare of the poor Californians had not been properly conſulted: and that this was the only expedient remaining to be tried for planting chriſtianity in this kingdom. And ſo ſtrongly

perſuaded

perſuaded was this royal council, that to commit the affair to the reverend fathers was the only probable means of accompliſhing the converſion of the Californians, and the reduction of the country, that the petition of captain Franciſco de Lucenilla, laid before them immediately after, and engaging to do the ſame ſervice for a much ſmaller ſum than that offered to the fathers, was rejected without deliberation.

As the ſociety has not ſpared itſelf, but at the exhortation of the moſt reverend Thyrſo Gonzales, father general, has in the perſon of its ſons viſited all the houſes of well diſpoſed perſons, the officers and tribunals, begging aſſiſtance towards the reduction of this kingdom to our holy faith; it is my opinion that it ought not to be done ſeparately from our ſociety. But that with freſh injunctions and recommendations from your excellency, whilſt a report is tranſmitted to his majeſty, the fathers exert themſelves to take care not only of the ſpiritual, but of the temporal concerns, and the rather as having now the ſupport of the thirteen thouſand dollars which his majeſty again offers; and which will be a help to the fathers, but to any ſecular perſon whatever, would be an incumbrance; for by the experience which the conduct of this enterpriſe

for

for eight years affords me, I ſay, that it is impoſſible with that ſum to act up to the conditions of the ſchedule.

And ſhould any one offer to fulfil thoſe conditions, and ſecure the country with thirteen thouſand dollars, it muſt be from his ignorance, or with a deſign to defraud the king. He will be intent only on his own private advantage. This will produce a thouſand diſputes with the fathers, who cannot but oppoſe any oppreſſions of the ſoldiers and ſeamen, and more particularly of the Indians, whether chriſtians or infidels, who alſo would not fail to riſe in arms; and whilſt application is made to court in letters and memorials, even before any anſwers, however favourable to the Indians, can return, the flame of revolt may ſpread every where: theſe uncultivated people being ſtrangers to any other recourſe againſt injuſtice than their weapons. The ſaid commander will for many years be obliged to buy up beyond ſea all kinds of proviſions; and as they are often vitiated and maggotty, eſpecially the fleſh, before their arrival, the expences amount in effect to thrice more than what they do in a ſpeculative computation: ſo that without a vaſt charge to the treaſury, it will be impoſſible for any man to maintain his ground there.

From

From the premiſes I conclude, that the country, on account of its barrenneſs, will not admit of Spaniſh inhabitants, as not affording ſubſiſtence even for only two fathers; and at preſent no Spaniards are to be found who are fond of new ſettlements, though in a fertile ſoil and good climate, unleſs paid by the government, or as a mitigation of a puniſhment: and then all they do, is by their irregularities to make the country revolt and quarrel with the ſoldiers, and thus raiſe a civil war, as was a few years ago the caſe in Mexico, betwixt the ſoldiers and ſettlers.

The laſt article is my anſwer to the propoſal concerning the new eſtabliſhment of a garriſon, in the oppoſite or weſtern coaſt, along which the Philippine ſhips ſail, an article proceeding from the moſt catholick breaſt of our ſovereign, and his generous pity for ſo many of his ſubjects, who die of the ſcurvy, there being in ſome thouſands of leagues not one place where they could ſend them on ſhore; though freſh meat and acid herbs would recover far the greateſt part of them: my anſwer to this, is, that I now could die with pleaſure, ſeeing the exalted concern of his majeſty, agrees with what I have ſo many years wiſhed for, being pierced to the very heart at ſight of ſuch numbers of ſick, and multitudes of them dying: and in

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all my labours and enterprises, I have had this in view. But at present, not to bring new expences upon the treasury, by any additional allowance to the fathers, who have carried their conversion of the infidels so far, as already to approach the western coast: his majesty's desires may therefore be accomplished in a little time, and without the expence of a new garrison, only by causing the subsidy of thirteen thousand dollars to be paid to the fathers, as by these and the contributions of charitable christians, there is great probability of success. As to the six thousand dollars towards the charges, they are not so much as the third part; and it is scarce to be conceived what labour and trouble I undergo, to procure contributions for making up the rest.

Besides the thirteen thousand crowns, it was necessary for a year or two, to have a bark from Peru, freighted with provisions, and well manned with sailors, in order to take a view and draught of the western coasts, harbours, creeks, and bays; and I sailed in the bark from 24 to 27 degrees: on this we made for the eastern coast, and landed at the degree appointed: whlie that on the western coast, joined in assisting the ship from China, and to give her notice from thence, if any enemies were on the coast of New Spain.

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The preſent ſtate of California is, that his majeſty, our ſovereign, is poſſeſſed of fifty leagues along the coaſt, from Conception bay to Agua Verde, i. e. green water, a lake fifty leagues up the country, or the mountains betwixt the two ſeas; the whole being above one hundred leagues in circuit; and in ſuch profound peace, that the fathers can go over it alone, without any guard of ſoldiers; the natives throughout the whole extent, willingly conforming themſelves to whatever the fathers require of them, and obey the orders of the military captain: being ready, together with twelve hundred chriſtians, catechumens, and gentiles, to take arms in our behalf.

Beſides the country reduced or conquered, there are others only diſcovered, as three ways towards the oppoſite weſtern coaſt to its very ſhores, two days journey along the coaſt, by which the Philippine ſhip comes, have been ſurveyed: and though the Indians of the weſtern coaſt, from a natural fear, fled at the ſight of the ſoldiers, yet they are now civilized, and they voluntarily come to viſit father Juan Ugarte, on that chain of mountains, which runs from ſea to ſea. California is the refuge of ſuch Spaniards, as by tempeſts are driven out their courſe from the South ſea. And two years ago, ſeventy perſons, whoſe veſſels had

been loſt, and who otherwiſe muſt alſo periſh, found ſafety here. And in thoſe parts of the country that are conquered and diſcovered, there are very promiſing appearances of mines. Thus in obedience to the royal ſchedule, I have repreſented to your excellency, every thing within my knowledge; and in witneſs of it, I have hereunto ſet my name at Mexico, the 25th of May 1705.——Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra.

On the ſame day namely the 25th of May, the viceroy was pleaſed to order that this memorial ſhould be referred to the treaſurer; and afterwards by his approbation to the general aſſembly. There was all the reaſon in the world that this ſhould be now held, father Salva-Tierra, the perſon beſt able to anſwer any difficulties, being then in Mexico, yet no aſſembly was convened: and under this diſappointment of his hopes, this excellent man went in the middle of June, in the quality of provincial, to viſit the Californian miſſions, carrying them all the relief he could collect: and with him the Portugueſe don Eſtevan Lorenzo, now a ſecond time obliged to take upon him the office of captain of the garriſon. By the way he viſited all the colleges near which he paſſed. At Guadalaxara he ſtaid till the month of Auguſt, in order, together with the members of the audi-

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ence, to promote the encouragement of his miſſion; recommending the viſitation of the other colleges to father Joſeph Vellido the ſecretary. The father had ſcarce left Mexico, when an aſſembly was held the 27th of June. The above-mentioned memorial, which father Salva-Tierra had been ordered to draw up, was read in it: and it was reſolved that in the want of experienced perſons, as the royal ſchedule required, no alteration ſhould be made in the affair: but that what had been reſolved in the junto of the 6th of June, in the foregoing year, ſhould be adhered to; which was to make a report to his majeſty, and wait his further orders. It was not till eight months after, that an account of this reſolution was ſent to his majeſty, in a letter of the 23d of March 1706.

Every man of ſenſe will be amazed at this conduct; for after ſuch clear expreſſions of his majeſty, he will hardly think that this unrelenting harſhneſs againſt the unhappy Californians, actually proceeded from a deſire of remitting money to Spain: and it is not to be imagined, that the government could imbibe the common reports of the vulgar, againſt the great riches and infatiable avarice of the jeſuits, and the rumours about the rich pearl fiſheries of California, as they have more authentick informations. Therefore ſome other root of all this

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evil muſt be ſearched for, and it was the following: Father Salva-Tierra not only ſolicited, as rector of California, that the appointments ſhould be paid to his miſſions; but as provincial, he likewiſe intereſted himſelf for the payment of the penſions aſſigned to the miſſions of the jeſuits in New Spain. The arrears were now of ſome years ſtanding, that the miſſionaries of all of them, with their churches and the Indians belonging to them, were in a moſt deplorable condition. The province had petitioned for a large ſum of money, though but a moderate relief: and beſides the common funds and thoſe of the colleges being greatly encumbered, there was no poſſibility of procuring from Europe, proper perſons, books, ornaments for churches, apparel, and other neceſſaries for the ſupport, however ſimple and mortified, of its members. But the provincial had no better ſucceſs in his ſolicitation for this than for that of his dear Californians. He repeated his inſtances ſeveral times, always with proper humility, but with no greater effect; till at length, ſeeing that he did not prevail, and that the miſſions in the hands of the company, under whom they had grown up, were more irremediably falling to ruin; with the advice of the moſt intelligent and ſerious jeſuits, he delivered into the hands of the viceroy, a

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formal renunciation and relinquiſhment of all the miſſions, ſigned by the oldeſt fathers, that his excellency, as vice-patron, might provide them with paſtors. The viceroy extremely reſented this ſtep, which the company would have been glad to avoid. He ordered the appointments of that year to be paid, referring the arrears till another time. But he retained all the heat of his firſt paſſions and on every occaſion, California felt the effects of it.

During theſe tranſactions at Mexico, the reports of the firſt aſſembly of the 1ſt of June 1704, arrived at Madrid, and were taken into deliberation by the ſupreme council of the Indies; and, by its advice, the king ſent a new ſchedule, dated Auguſt the 15th 1705, in which his majeſty approved of the junto's reſolution, to wait for father Salva-Tierra's opinion, concerning the new garriſon on the ſouthern coaſt. But with regard to the thirteen thouſand dollars appointed for the conqueſt and reduction, he again ordered, that it ſhould be paid without any delay, and ſpeedy advice of every thing be ſent to him. This ſchedule was read before the viceroy, on the 20th of June 1706; and on its being referred to the Fiſcal, he delivered his opinion, that father Salva-Tierra, having already given his report in writing, it ſhould be remitted to his

majeſty, with advice that the appointment of thirteen thouſand dollars had been paid, it being no longer avoidable, in virtue of the royal order. The ſchedule and the treaſurer's opinion were laid before the royal council, which, in September the 24th of the ſame year, after dwelling on the exhauſted ſtate of the revenue, in the viceroy's preſence, reſolved that father Salva-Tierra's memorial ſhould be ſent to his majeſty, as containing ſeveral articles on which it was neceſſary to know his majeſty's royal determination; and in other reſpects, to abide by the reſolutions of the aſſembly, on the 27th of June 1704, of not making any alterations without freſh orders from his majeſty. Father Salva-Tierra's memorial, had been remitted to court in May of that year: and now it was again ſent with the viceroy's remarks on ſome points. Theſe proceedings were kept ſo ſecret, that nothing tranſpired to the fathers, who, in the mean time, were unable to take any ſtep in favour of their miſſion. Theſe papers arrived in Spain, when it was known, that the South ſea was infeſted by many Corſairs, who ſheltered themſelves in California; and of theſe Woods Rogers was one as may be ſeen in his voyage begun in 1708, the very year when this ſubject was deliberated on in Madrid; and theſe diſpatches having been laid before the

ſupreme council of the Indies, his majeſty by their advice, ſent over another ſchedule, dated at Buen Retiro, the 26th of July 1708, which contained three parts: the firſt recapitulated thoſe of the preceding years: the ſecond contained obſervations on the articles of father Salva-Tierra's memorial, and the viceroy's remarks: the third again directed the immediate payment of the thirteen thouſand dollars, and that the general aſſembly of all the miniſters, military officers, and perſons who had a knowledge of the coaſt and country of California, ſhould as formerly directed be immediately held: and that the viceroy ſhould determine the moſt convenient place for erecting on the coaſt of the South ſea, the royal garriſon ſo long deſired: at the ſame time impowering him to take out of the revenue, whatever money ſhould be neceſſary for this ſervice, and ſend an account of the whole to his majeſty. This ſchedule came to Mexico in the year 1709, and being referred to the treaſurer, he was of opinion, that every article ought to be fulfilled: and the viceroy having alſo complied, ſignified his aſſent in the following order, "Agreeably to the opinion of the treaſurer, it is hereby directed that, for the more proper execution of the royal warrant, relative to paying and aſſiſting the Leeward garriſons, his majeſty's new

ſchedule be taken into deliberation, and the ſeveral papers be laid before the council, as to it belongs the firſt conſideration of ways and means for publick affairs, and for the preſent execution of what his majeſty has expreſly commanded; and the treaſurer, agreeable to ſuch commands, has required, the ſecretary's office ſhall make enquiry after, and regiſter all ſuch military perſons within this city, who ſhall be found to be acquainted with thoſe countries and ſeas, that the expedition, may, purſuant to his majeſty's orders, be commenced without delay."

This decree, ſuſpended the execution of the ſchedule, relating to the immediate payment of the thirteen thouſand dollars, it being referred to the deliberation of the general aſſembly of the royal council: though by the king's ſchedule, all kinds of deliberation on this point, had been precluded. However the viceroy continued in the diſcharge of his office, without taking any notice of California, till the end of the year 1710, when he was ſucceeded by the duke de Linares, don Fernando de Lancaſter Noronna y Sylva, who made his entry into Mexico on the firſt of January 1711.

This excellent nobleman, who as ſon of don Auguſtine de Lancaſter, duke de Abraites, marquis

marquis de Porto Seguro, and Val de Fuentes, count de Mejorado, and ſon to donna Juana de Noronna y Sylva, ducheſs of Linares, united in himſelf through various lines, the royal houſes of Caſtile, Portugal, and England; and who to his great perſonal qualities, added the experience he had acquired as vicar of Italy, viceroy of Sardinia, and lieutenant general of the armies of Spain. An affection to the jeſuits was hereditary in this nobleman's family: and accordingly during the whole courſe of his government, he zealouſly took the miſſions of California under his protection, beſtowed large ſums of his own money, for the advancement of them, and ſolicited contributions from other perſons of wealth in Mexico. At the expiration of his viceroyſhip, in which he was ſucceeded by his couſin don Gaſpar de Zumiga marquis de Valero, being free from any diſeaſe, and preparing to return to Spain, he directed by his will, ſealed on the 26th of March 1717, in the city of Mexico, the third part of his eſtate, which was all he had the diſpoſal of, by reaſon his father was ſtill alive, for the uſe of the miſſions of California, in the 17th clauſe, which runs thus: "I direct that of my eſtate, there be given to the miſſions of California, five thouſand doubloons, to be at the diſpoſal of the fathers,

who ſhall be in the miſſions, if I die in this kingdom: but if in Europe, the ſaid ſum ſhall be paid to the agent general of the reverend ſociety of jeſuits, to be remitted to theſe provinces."

As he was on the point of going to Vera Cruz in order to embark, he was taken very ill; and on the 28th of May in the ſame year, he opened his will to reviſe it: after which he ſealed it up again. And though by two codicils he altered ſome other particulars, the devout legacy he left to the miſſion of California, remained untouched; and in theſe happy ſentiments he died on the 3d of June, in the ſame year, in the arms of father Franciſco de Solchaga, a jeſuit, and profeſſor of divinity in that capital. But notwithſtanding the excellent diſpoſitions of this nobleman as a private perſon, he neither did, nor could do any thing for the miſſion as a viceroy; the former royal ſchedules were ſo cloſely ſecreted that he knew nothing of them, and in his time no order came to court relating to California; nor did the fathers ſolicit any favour knowing nothing of the laſt ſchedules before-mentioned; having been without the leaſt hope of any extraordinary aſſiſtance from the year 1705: for even the ordinary pay was greatly behind in all the miſſions, that all they could do was by their own means

means to forward the conqueſt, which however at this rate, could move but very ſlowly. The like happened in Sonora and Pimeria to father Kino, who, with great concern, ſaw the harveſt of very extenſive countries, ripe for the ſickle of the goſpel, loſt for want of proper ſupplies and labourers. By theſe wants California neceſſarily ſuffered, not only on account of the ſuccours which it might hope for from Pimeria, if once reduced and cultivated; and from its coaſt along the gulf which had been diſcovered and ſurveyed as far as the river Colorado; but likewiſe as the capital deſign was to carry on the conqueſt on both ſides of the gulf to the above-mentioned river; and where the miſſions being joined and reciprocally aſſiſting each other by land, to continue and extend it as far as the fruitful coaſt of Puerto de Monte-Rey. This enterpriſe, ſo very important, fathers Salva-Tierra and Kino would certainly have accompliſhed, had they been aſſiſted according to his majeſty's order; but every thing went againſt them. I have been particular in relating the obſtacles they met with, that it may be ſeen whether they who throw the blame of the little progreſs made in theſe miſſions on the company, have ſo much as a ſhadow of reaſon on their ſide. I have connected the events of different years, that I

might not frequently break the thread of the narrative. Let us now return to father Salva-Tierra, whom, in Auguſt 1705, we left viſiting the college of Guadalaxara. The father provincial had ſoon concluded the viſitation of that college, as likewiſe his conferences with the members of the audience and others, benefactors to California: and having obtained for it what ſuccours he could, he went to Matanchel, where he embarked, and on the 30th of Auguſt, after a pleaſant paſſage, came to an anchor in San Dionyſio bay, within ſight of his beloved miſſion of Nueſtra Sennora de Loretto de la California: he landed to the inexpreſſible joy of himſelf, the fathers, the ſoldiers, and even the Indians who looked upon them as their common father. He found them all in no very agreeable ſituation, notwithſtanding the ſuccours which father Piccolo was very aſſiduous in ſending them from Sonora. The provincial had nominated him viſitor of the miſſions of that province, as this employment required a perſon of his activity and zeal, and likewiſe, as by his authority and intereſt, he could moſt conveniently draw from theſe miſſions, though themſelves but poor, thoſe ſuccours of proviſions which were abſolutely wanting in California. In this father Piccolo was ſo alert that his care and charity may be ſaid

ſaid to have this year ſaved the miſſion. The venerable provincial on the ſame day, namely, the 30th of Auguſt, informing him of his arrival at Loretto, returned him thanks in the following manner: "God reward your reverence for the ſuccours you have ſent to theſe fathers, whom otherwiſe at my coming hither I ſhould have found dead." The ſufferings of the fathers were not a little increaſed by the cruelty and haughtineſs of the captain Eſcalante, who as little reliſhed his ſubjection to the fathers as the whole body of the garriſon did his command over them. Such was the uneaſineſs occaſioned by his miſconduct, that father Ugarte found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſending an account of it to father Salva-Tierra at Mexico, in order for redreſs. It was on this account that the father brought with him the Portugueſe don Eſtevan Rodriguez Lorenzo, whom he now made captain: and at the ſame time by his wonderful ſweetneſs, ſo far prevailed over Eſcalante's reſentment of his removal, that for ſome time he continued in California as a common ſoldier, till he was promoted to be captain-lieutenant in the garriſon of Nacoſari, from whence he had come.

The venerable provincial ſtaid two months in California, labouring with the people of the garriſon and among the Indians, as if he had been

been a ſimple miſſionary. He was informed that the fathers immediately after his abſence ſeparated, father Baſaldua to San Juan Londo; father Juan Ugarte to San Xavier, and father Pedro de Ugarte to Loretto, in order to improve himſelf further in the language, and to ſuperintend the garriſon. Father Juan Ugarte had that year at San Xavier cleared many pieces of ground in order for ſowing; and was habituating his Indians to the labours of the field, in which to inſtruct and encourage them he was always the firſt. He had likewiſe made ſeveral progreſſes up the country and brought ſeveral rancherias to form themſelves into villages. The like had been done by father Baſſaldua in San Juan Londo, the town of which was now become much enlarged; ſome of them ſettled and civilized voluntarily; others were hunted and brought like wild beaſts from among precipices of the mountains: ſo that in theſe two miſſions, and their towns of viſitation, no leſs than at the principal of Loretto, were performed the uſual exerciſes of catechiſing the young and the adult, the diſtribution of pozoli, and other things pertaining to the miſſion. The provincial went over all the miſſions, viſited the villages which were begun, and the rancherias in friendſhip with them; winning the hearts of all the Indians by the facility of his inſtructions,

inſtructions, and the endearing ſweetneſs of his behaviour. He recommended the ſettlement of the two miſſions at Ligni or Malebat, and on the river Mulege; and gave the proper directions for its being put in execution without delay. There being only three miſſionaries, it was neceſſary that one ſhould take on him the care of the garriſon of Loretto, and of the miſſions of San Xavier and Londo, whilſt the reſt of the fathers were ſettling the two other miſſions. This was a fatigue to which no ſingle man was equal. The temporal care of the garriſon, its magazines, the proviſions, and diſtribution of them; the paying of the ſoldiers and ſailors; the care of the ſick and of the Indians; and the remittance of proviſions, and other ſuccours to the abſent fathers and ſoldiers, was as much as the moſt diſengaged perſon could diſcharge. But God provided a proper remedy for this neceſſity. The father provincial had brought with him from Mexico, brother Jayme Bravo, a perſon very active and underſtanding, and likewiſe of a religious deportment: and who had attended on the deceaſed viſitor Pineyro. For this brother underſtanding that he was going to California, had earneſtly requeſted him that he might accompany him in ſo long and difficult a voyage. Brother Jayme's intent herein was with the provincial's

vincial's permiſſion to remain in California to aſſiſt the fathers in offices relating to the miſſion. The conjuncture favoured his deſire: and beſides his repeated requeſt, the father provincial ſaw that the miſſionaries greatly wanted, and were deſirous of a brother to eaſe them of the care of temporal concerns, that they might employ themſelves wholly in their prieſtly function. Accordingly he recommended to them this fervent brother, who, for the ſpace of fourteen years, ſerved the miſſion as temporal co-adjutor with diſtinguiſhed zeal, till it was thought proper to admit him to the prieſthood, that he might ſerve as a zealous miſſionary. The provincial concluded his viſitation without leaving any written orders for the future government, whether from humility, or that he judged them unneceſſary; only directing that copies might be taken of the inſtitutes, drawn up for other miſſions by father Hernando Cavero the viſitor: and ſuch articles as were practicable in California, to obſerve them. Afterwards having taken his leave of the fathers, ſoldiers, and his Indians, with all the affection of a parent, he embarked for New Spain to ſuperintend the government of his province, till the diſcharge from his office, which he had deſired, came from Rome.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

The two miſſions of San Juan Baptiſta Ligui, and of Santa Roſalia Mulege; Progreſs of the others, and a new ſurvey of the coaſt of the South-ſea.

The provincial had recommended three things chiefly to his Californian miſſionaries; to ſettle without delay the two miſſions S. and N. of Loretto; to make progreſſes up the country in ſearch of convenient ſpots for new miſſions, offering, when ſuch were found, to provide miſſionaries; and laſtly, to take a ſurvey in other parts of the oppoſite coaſt of the South ſea, in order to find out ſome place proper for the Philippine ſhips to put into, which had been ſo ardently deſired. The father was no ſooner out of the country, than the foundation of the miſſions was taken in hand. On the ſame day, being the laſt of November 1705, the two fathers, under the auſpices of the great mother, patronneſs of the miſſion, ſet out by land, taking different routs: father Pedro de Ugarte going for the coaſt of Ligui, 14 leagues S. of Loretto; and father Juan Manuel de Baſſaldua to the river Mulege, at the diſtance of 40 leagues northward, whilſt father Juan Ugarte ſtaid

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to take care of the three former miſſions and their villages. Father Pedro had not much difficulty in reaching the ſhore, the country not being that way very rugged. This tract the Monquis in their language call Ligui, and the Laymones in their's Malibat. It then received the name of San Juan Baptiſta, in honour of don Juan Baptiſta Lopez, an inhabitant of Mexico, who offered to endow this miſſion with a capital of ten thouſand dollars, keeping the money in his own hand, and paying the council intereſt. Afterwards by the misfortunes of commerce, this benefactor failed, and there was an end of the miſſion's fund; which, however, was not forſaken, till it had converted all the Indians of the neighbouring country, and put its rancherias and villages under the care and viſitation of other miſſions. Father Pedro Ugarte found his Indians perfectly quiet, peaceable, and without any apprehenſion, though the only ſhelter he had for ſome time among them, was the ſhade of the meſquites; and afterwards of a hut made with branches of trees, whilſt the chapel and a little dwelling of adoves, or raw bricks, was building. He endeavoured by little preſents and careſſes, to gain the affections of his Indians, not ſo much that they ſhould aſſiſt him in the building, as that they might take a liking

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to the catechiſm, which he explained to them as well as he could, by the help of ſome Indians of Loretto, while he was perfecting himſelf in their language. But his kindneſs was loſt on the adults, who, from their invincible ſloth, could not be brought to help him in any one thing, though they partook of, and uſed to be very urgent with him for the pozoli and other eatables. He was now obliged to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the boys, who being allured by the father with ſweetmeats, and preſents, accompanied him wherever he would have them: and to habituate theſe to any work it was neceſſary to make uſe of artifice: ſometimes he laid a wager with them who ſhould ſooneſt pluck up the meſquites and ſmall trees; ſometimes he offered rewards to thoſe who took away moſt earth; and it ſuffices to ſay, that in forming the bricks, he made himſelf a boy with boys, challenged them to play with the earth, and dance upon the clay. The father uſed to take off his ſandals and tread it, in which he was followed by the boys ſkipping and dancing on the clay, and the father with them; the boys ſung and were highly delighted; the father alſo ſung; and thus they continued dancing and treading the clay in different parts, till meal time. This enabled him to erect his poor dwelling, and the church;

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at the dedication of which the other fathers aſſiſted. He made uſe of ſeveral ſuch contrivances in order to learn their language; firſt teaching the boys ſeveral Spaniſh words that they might afterwards teach him their language: when, by the help of theſe maſters, the interpreters of Loretto, and his own obſervation and diſcourſe with the adults, he had attained a ſufficient knowledge of it, he began to catechiſe theſe poor gentiles, uſing a thouſand endearing ways that they ſhould come to the catechiſm; he likewiſe made uſe of his boys for carrying on their inſtruction. Thus, with invincible patience and firmneſs under exceſſive labours, he went on humanizing the ſavages who lived on the ſpot, thoſe of the neighbouring rancherias and others whom he ſought among woods, breaches, and caverns; going about every where, that he at length adminiſtered baptiſm to many adults; and brought this new ſettlement into ſome form. Father Pedro was pleaſing himſelf that his labours had at length produced ſome promiſing fruit, when a ſlight accident, not to mention others, had nearly ruined all. The father was ſent for to aſſiſt a chriſtian woman, who was ſick; but on his coming found a ſorcerer whom he did not know, blowing her according to cuſtom. The father having

ing made him depart and reproved his converts and catechumens for ſuffering any ſuch thing, confeſſed the patient, adminiſtered the holy unction to her, and was with her till her death. A few days after, ſome Indians came with great joy to tell the father that they had been in queſt of the blowing ſorcerer and had killed him: the father did not fail ſeverely to reprimand them, and thinking it neceſſary on ſuch an occaſion to avoid diſturbances, ſent them away with ſome anger: but this was ſo far from pleaſing them, that they conceived a reſentment againſt the father, tho' they were artful enough to conceal it by a fair cartiage; and the way he came to the knowledge of their bloody reſolution, was by a boy who attended on him, and one night aſked leave that he might go and lie with his friends: the father denied it; but finding the boy to be more than uſually urgent, aſked him what made him ſo deſirous of going? The boy ſimply replied, "Becauſe, father, this night they intend to kill you, and told me if I was with you, they would kill me alſo." The father on this ſent for ſome of the heads, and with great reſolution and an undaunted air, told them, I know that you have formed a deſign of killing me to night, but remember with this muſket (though it was old and uſeleſs) I'll firſt make a ſlaughter of you all;

and then haſtily withdrew, leaving the poor Indians ſo terrified, that conſulting with the reſt, they determined to ſhift their quarters that very night; ſuch is their cowardice and dread of fire-arms. The next day the father was obliged to go and look after them: and it was with great difficulty, and after many aſſurances that he loved them as his children and that he meant to do them good, never intending to do them any harm, that he could prevail on them to return. They believed him as they found he did not fear them, and returned eaſy and contented to their huts. I have been particular in this adventure to avoid mentioning others of a like nature, which happened every day in the new miſſions. No patience, no courteſy, no prudence, no liberality, are a ſufficient ſecurity to the life of a miſſionary among ſuch ſavages: the ſacrifice of his life is what every miſſionary in a ſavage country, ſhould ſolemnly reſolve on, as by the ſtupidity and fickleneſs of the Indians, it is every day in danger. Father Pedro Ugarte continued in his miſſion of San Juan Baptiſta Ligui or Malibut, till the year 1709, when his conſtitution ſunk under ſuch ſevere fatigues, that there was a neceſſity for the recovery of his health to ſend him to Mexico, where at the ſame time he might negociate the affairs of the miſſion, and father Franciſco Par-

Paralto came in his ſtead to Ligui: but that active father was no ſooner recovered to a tolerable degree, than he returned to California, re-aſſuming the labours of his miſſion, till falling ſick a ſecond time, he was tranſlated to the miſſions of the river Yaqui, which he deſired preferably to any other; as for them he might be a very uſeful agent and purveyor for poor and barren California.

Father Juan Manuel de Baſſaldua, who on the ſame day in 1705, went from Loretto northwards with great difficulty, by reaſon of the cragginеſs of the country, reached Conception bay. The diſtance from it by land to the little river Mulege is very ſhort; but ſo rugged and woody, that it had been in vain attempted twice before. Theſe difficulties however father Baſſaldua now ſurmounted, by cutting thro' the wood, rolling away the ſtones, filling up ſloughs, and opening a way large enough for beaſts: and thus at length found himſelf happily on the banks of the Mulege, where in the moſt convenient ſpot he fixed his miſſion with the ſame labours and dangers as father Pedro de Ugarte had gone through at Ligui; beſides the labour of making a road of 40 leagues from thence to the garriſon of Loretto, and of frequently repairing it. His miſſion he conſecrated to Santa Roſalia at the deſire of don Nicolas de Arteaga and donna Joſepha Vallego, his ſpouſe,

inhabitants of Mexico, who endowed it with a fund of ten thouſand crowns. The father built the dwelling and church with adoves, at the diſtance of three quarters of a league from the ſea, and near the river. Betwixt this and the ſierra, or the chain of hills, runs a plain of ſeven leagues all over covered with meſquites, which, tho' it afforded good paſture for black cattle, ſheep, and ſwine; none of it has been turned to tillage till theſe three laſt years, when a ſluice was made for diſtributing the water, as otherwiſe in a country where rain is ſo ſcarce and uncertain, all induſtry would be in vain. The Indians hereabouts are of a lively, mild diſpoſition, and leſs fickle and variable than others: the father continued, during four years, inſtructing them with indefatigable care, and bringing them together and uniting them from all parts, till, on account of ſickneſs, he was obliged to be removed to the other ſide, where he was inveſted with the miſſion of San Joſeph de Guaymas, belonging to the government of California, that he might there attend to the relief of it. This he diligently diſcharged, both whilſt he continued there, as likewiſe when he was at Raum, and the river Yaqui, whither he was afterwards removed. At Santa Roſalia Mulege he was ſucceeded by father Franciſco Maria Piccolo, who having gone through

through his viſitation of the miſſions of Sonora, withdrew to California: he ruled it in an apoſtolical manner for ſeveral years, till, on the death of the venerable father Salva-Tierra, he was ordered to Loretto. He extended the ſpiritual conqueſt northward ſeveral leagues. He made many uſeful progreſſes up the country, endearing himſelf to the people, preaching the goſpel to them and diſcovering many tracts where new miſſions were planted, and their viſitation towns, as that of Guadalupe, la Puriſſima Conception & San Ignaſio; at length in the year 1718, he delivered up the care of the miſſion to father Sebaſtian de Siſtiaga, who officiated there many years with the ſame zeal and fatigues as his predeceſſors; and turned ſome pieces of land into fields, which were watered by the ſluice made in the river. Such was the diligence of the fathers in their inſtructions, that many adults of the miſſion are not only admitted to the annual communion, but likewiſe intermediately. Beſides, many Indians have been brought to talk tolerable Spaniſh, and have ſerved as interpreters in progreſſes into other nations; and likewiſe in aſſiſting and teaching new miniſters: ſome of them have laboured with extraordinary fidelity jointly with the fathers: and among theſe for their devotion, loyalty, and labours, Bernardo

Dababa, and Andres Comanay, deſerve particular mention; and great encomiums are given them in the narratives and letters of ſeveral miſſionaries whom they attended: being of great ſervice to them in all their apoſtolical labours and difficult enterpriſes.

There being only three prieſts in California, one having charge of three miſſions, and the other two employed in the foundation of the new; the ſecond charge of the provincial to diſcover inland places for new miſſions, could hardly be complied with. But brother Jayme Bravo undertook it; and to this end went from Loretto in the beginning of the following year 1706, taking with him a proper quantity of proviſions, accompanied by the Portugueſe captain, ſeven ſoldiers, and ſome Indians. He firſt viſited San Juan Baptiſta Ligui, where father Pedro de Ugarte was modelling his miſſion; from thence they travelled on a day and a half along the ſhore; brother Jayme with the captain and two ſoldiers walked before; but they were ſoon obliged to return, an Indian of the company bringing them word that the four other ſoldiers were dying. The caſe was this; one of the ſoldiers ſaw a fire where the Indian fiſhermen had juſt been roaſting fiſh, and among them were ſome of a ſpecies called Botates, the livers of which contain a very active poiſon, and

and had been left by the Indians on ſome ſhells: a ſoldier ſeeing them, called out to his comrades, "a fry, a fry!" they all ſtopped; but as they were going to eat, an Indian called to them not to eat it, for that it would kill them: to this the ſoldier who had firſt ſpied them, anſwered, none of your noiſe, Indian, a Spaniard never dies; and immediately gave ſome to the other three. Of theſe one eat ſome; another chewed, but did not ſwallow it; the other more cautious, only handled and viewed this part. It was not long before they were all proportionably ſeized violently with convulſive pains. The firſt expired within half an hour, and was ſoon followed by the ſecond; the third remained ſenſeleſs till the day following: and both he and the fourth were in a very bad condition for ſeveral days. It is natural to think that brother Jayme and the others muſt have been ſenſibly affected with this misfortune. They were now obliged to give over the enterpriſe, and return to Ligui with the dead, who were buried in the conſecrated ground belonging to the chapel; and the ſick were ſent to Loretto.

In the mean time the magnanimous father Juan Ugarte made his celebrated progreſs for diſcovering and reconnoitring the coaſt of the South-ſea, agreeably to father Salva-Tierra's

third injunction: and having made several visitations at Loretto and San Juan de Londo, his principal care was for promoting his mission of San Xavier. It was not without reason that the venerable father Salva-Tierra used always to call father Ugarte the apostle: for sublime as the title was, his labours were not unworthy of it. Always in action and indefatigable; present every where, and doing every thing. He attempted every thing, and he accomplished every thing: but his activity never so signally appeared as in these beginnings where the difficulties seemed unsurmountable: sometimes he was preaching, assisting, admonishing, and attending the soldiers: at other times he was searching for new spots of ground for villages and fields; sometimes baptising the children; and sometimes instructing the adults; sometimes administering the sacraments to the sick, and performing the last offices to the dying. Sometimes he worked in the buildings; sometimes in the field in making water trenches, plantations, and fields; sometimes he was mending the roads; sometimes helping to get ready the barks for sea. In fine, he was continually labouring in every kind of employment, and the greatest fatigue he took upon himself. As he was now reaping the temporal fruits of his industry and labour for his

his Indians, they were now more eaſily brought to obſerve the appointed diviſion of maſs, prayer, catechiſm, roſary, explanations, and ſermons, and other methods for inſtruction in chriſtianity; inſomuch that he had ſet penalties for thoſe who were abſent at theſe exerciſes; as a diminution of their allowance, or ſome ſtripes according to the nature of their offence. The children were the objects of his greateſt care; their innocent age being more ſuſceptible of a chriſtian education. The ſeminary was the father's houſe, where ſome of them continued all teaching them with unwearied patience ſuch parts of knowledge as were valuable, even among the Spaniards: and many of them made not only capable of inſtructing the rancherias, but an example of good behaviour to them. For the girls, eſpecially ſuch as were orphans, a ſeparate houſe was built; where a miſtreſs inſtructed them in the little works proper for the ſex; the father taking upon himſelf the religious part of their education.

Another building was erected for an hoſpital, where the father's charity ſignally appeared in the ſpiritual and temporal aſſiſtance of the ſick till death, which, in many, was accompanied with great ſigns of ſalvation. With one of theſe father Echeverria, viſitor of California, being at San Xavier, was extremely affected; he

he had made his general confeſſion to father Ugarte in his own language, and had ſeveral times in the Spaniſh language entered into farther particulars of his confeſſion with the viſitor, begged of him that as he was unable to go to church, he would be ſo kind as to come and pray over the roſary with him. He aſked pardon of his countrymen for his ill example; he declared, that he deſired then to die, leſt he ſhould return to his former wicked courſes; he exhorted his relations to live piouſly, and obey the fathers: and thus amidſt aſpirations of love and confidence in God, he delivered up his ſoul into his hands. Another and he, a very obſtinate ſorcerer, or impoſter, God was pleaſed to bring to the faith; being ſtrongly affected with the love ſhewn by the father to his little ſon, who he was very urgent of having baptized; but unwilling to ſubmit to learn the catechiſm. At length he complied, and was catechiſed by the father, to whom, againſt his natural repugnancy, he laid open the myſteries of the preſtiges with which he and others deceived the nation. At his baptiſm he was called Doningo; and now full of joy at being a chriſtian, he made the houſe and the church his continual abode, praying night and day during the few weeks he ſurvived his happy admiſſion into chriſtianity. The father, in order

to

to wean the ſavages from their ſuperſtitious burials, had his funeral performed with great ſolemnity. Another famous ſorcerer, who, for a long time had been continually ſtirring up the gentiles and catechumens againſt the fathers, came all in tears to Loretto, where father Ugarte then was, intreating that he might then be baptized. His tears and vows of amendment, and his offer to ſtay at Loretto, induced the father to take him under his care; and he baptized him on St. Ambroſe's day, being the 7th of December 1705; giving him the name of that ſaint. The next day the father went to celebrate the feſtival of the conception at his own town of San Xavier: on the 9th he returned to Loretto, where he found the new chriſtian had ſpent the greateſt part of his time in the church: the ſame day, being taken ill, the father never left him in his laſt hours, and he died with great marks of having been called by that Being, in whoſe hands is the deſtiny of all men.

Amidſt theſe occupations, father Juan Ugarte alſo made the laſt diſpoſitions for the progreſs towards ſurveying the ſouth coaſt, the chief of the Yaqui nation, of whom the father had aſked forty warriors for the enterpriſe, came with them himſelf. The captain of the garriſon of Loretto attended the expedition with twelve

ſoldiers

ſoldiers and ſome Indians; the beaſts and proviſions for the march were all got ready, and father Ugarte and brother Bravo on the 26th of November 1706, with theſe ſeveral bodies divided into three companies, ſet out in good order from Loretto. The firſt place they came to was the miſſion of St. Xavier; next to the viſitation town of Santa Roſalia; afterwards they came to a brook, to which they gave the name of San Andres, having by the ſide of it celebrated maſs on that apoſtle's day. By the way they met with ſeveral Indians who behaved peaceably. But when they came near the ſea, above two hundred Indians of the Guaycura nation, who bore an inveterate hatred to the Spaniards, who now found it neceſſary to march circumſpectly and ready for action. They took a view of the coaſt for many leagues ſouthward; but found only ſeveral creeks and ſome rancherias, who lived by fiſhing. But the only freſh water along the coaſt was in little wells dug by the Indians. They marched back towards the north, and unhappily found the coaſt much the ſame, ſo that they were for ſome time greatly diſtreſſed for want of water: they halted near the bed of a dry rivulet, along which, in times of rain, the waters run down into the ſea, and the willows and flags manifeſted the moiſture of the ſoil. From thence they ſent

ſome

ſome to take a farther view of the coaſt, with orders not to travel ten or eleven leagues. In the mean time they followed the bed of the river both upwards and downwards in queſt of water, but without ſucceſs. They then diſperſed themſelves ſeveral ways to look out for a clean ſpot of ground which had ſome water, for paſſing the night; but during the whole month of December no water could be found for man or beaſt. Thus tired and periſhing for thirſt, they found a ſhelter for that night, and kindled fires to relieve themſelves from the cold; they alſo let looſe the beaſts, as they poſſibly in roving, might find water: but with all their contrivance and diligence, it proved a very painful night to them. In the morning the father celebrated the maſs of the conception of our lady, with humble ſupplications to God, through the immaculate mother, that he would not permit them all to periſh on a day ſo much his own. All devoutly accompanied the father's ſupplications, at the ſame time that father Pedro was ſaying maſs at Loretto, for the good ſucceſs of the diſcovery. After maſs our lady's litany was ſung; but before ſervice was over, a Yaqui Indian called out in his tongue, water, water! On coming up to the place it was found to be the ſame, which, in the evening, and at night, ſeveral had paſſed

paſſed and viewed without perceiving a drop of water. The place beſides was dry; that no water was naturally to be expected there: however it now afforded a ſufficiency for ſatisfying the whole company, together with the beaſts, and for filling ſeveral veſſels to ſerve in the return, which was reſolved on the very ſame day, after a ſolemn thankſgiving to the bleſſed virgin; for the ſurveyors were returned, reporting that they had, according to orders, reconnoitred the coaſt till they came to a wide bay, but that it afforded no water. Thus, without any advantage from this chargeable expedition, they returned to Loretto, where they again celebrated a maſs to the patroneſs of the miſſion; for having ſo remarkably ſaved them from periſhing on theſe barren coaſts.

SECT.

SECT. X.

Father Salva-Tierra returns to CALIFORNIA; his labours there. The miſſion of San Joſeph de Comonda founded by father Mayorga; the miſſion greatly ſuffers by the loſs of the barks, and the ſhipwreck of the fathers Guillem and Guiſci, the latter of which was drowned.

Whilſt the miſſionary fathers in California were thus employed in the execution of father Salva-Tierra's orders, his diſcharge from the office of provincial, which he had petitioned for, came from Rome: wherefore the father, general Miguel Angel Tamburim, conferred the patent of provincial on father Bernardo Rolandegui, the province's agent at Madrid and Rome, who being returned to Mexico, entered on his office on the 17th of September 1706. Father Salva-Tierra with great ſatisfaction returned to the college of San Gregorio, that together with father Alexandro Romano appointed agent for California, he might provide the accounts required by the ſoldiers, and the goods and proviſions for the garriſons and miſſions. Father Julian de Mayorga, already appointed miſſionary, though but lately arrived

from

from Spain, together with father Rolandegui, directing that they ſhould be forwarded from Matanchel harbour whither the bark ſhould be ſent: but the father, inſtead of embarking at Matanchel travelled above four hundred leagues by land through the provinces of Cinaloa and Sonora as far as the harbour of Ahome, in compliance with the deſires of the benefactors of his miſſion; and to collect free contributions and ſuccours for it. The father in his laſt voyage from California to Mexico, had brought with him five Indians of a good genius from different rancherias, leaving the three which he had brought the firſt time, for their further improvement: as having ſeen the beauties of chriſtianity in the ſettled churches in New Spain, they might give the more favourable account of them to their countrymen. The five Californians were received every where with great kindneſs by the jeſuits, who looked on them as the firſt fruits to God and the lamb in this laborious miſſion.

But by the unhealthineſs of the country, the change of climate and food, they all five fell ſick in this long voyage, and the delays which their caſe now required, greatly increaſed other ſevere inconveniences which happened

to them. At length they came to Ahome, where, on the 30th of January 1707, they embarked for Loretto. They were ſcarce at ſea when one of the Indians, called don Jego Joſeph, was again ſeized with a fatal illneſs. But ſuch was his ſerenity and reſignation, that he fervently prayed the Almighty to remove him from this life before he reached California, if he had no further ſervice for him. The father viſited him in his laſt moments, and theſe were employed in ſuch acts of all religion expreſſed with a ſpirit and energy, as filled even the oldeſt chriſtians with a devout envy of his felicity. The loſs of this excellent perſon was followed by a furious ſtorm which father Salva-Tierra thus deſcribes:

"The night of the 31ſt of January was extremely dark, we were with the maſt laſhed, but without a rudder; and amidſt rocks and iſlands, the ſea continually making a free paſſage over us; the ſailors, ſpent with toil and hunger, having been without food for a day and a half, were proſtrate, giving all over for loſt. The leaſt damage which we could expect was to be drove into the ſea of Gallicia, or Acapulco; "triſtiſſima noctis imago!" The Californians got about me like chickens, and they were not my leaſt confidents, as being newborn ſons of the great madonna, and had run

this riſk in her ſervice; "Ne quando dicant gentes," &c. Laſtly, concludes the father, after all my journeys and voyages, I never knew what dangers or diſtreſſes by land or ſea were, till now." They were driven by the tempeſt to San Joſeph, ten leagues S. of Loretto; in which they ſet up the firſt croſs, and afterwards the ſea being a little calm, they on the 3d of February reached the deſired ſhore, where they were received with univerſal joy. As for the Californians, they could not expreſs their aſtoniſhment at the wonders which their four countrymen related to them about New Spain. A few months after father Julian de Mayorga came from Matanchel, accompanied by the captain of Loretto, Rodrigues, who had gone over to be married to a lady of diſtinction of that province, and father Ignatio Alvarando, appointed for the miſſions of Sonora; father Julian was ſoon taken ill, his ſickneſs was owing both to the fatigue of the journey and the ſea, and the alteration of the climate; and his being alſo quite unaccuſtomed to the ſalt meat and maize, which was all the garriſon then afforded. And his illneſs daily increaſing by the unavoidable duty of aſſiſting at the offices, father Juan Maria reſolved to remove him to the coaſt of New Spain: but father Mayorga hearing of it, entreated him on his knees to die

in California, whither God, through the choice of his ſuperiors, had ſent him. However it pleaſed the divine mercy that he recovered; and inuring himſelf to fatigues and hardſhip, he ſerved in this miſſion with unwearied application, for the ſpace of thirty years. In the beginning of the year 1708, the fathers Salva-Tierra, and Juan de Ugarte carried him to a country twenty leagues N. W. of Loretto, in the center of the mountains, and almoſt at an equal diſtance from both ſeas: and in the country town called Comondu, in which were ſeveral rancherias of Indians ſituated near a little brook. Here father Mayorga was inveſted with the miſſion which was conſecrated to St. Joſeph, and endowed by that magnificent nobleman, the marquis de Villa Puente, as were the other two, of which we ſhall preſently ſpeak. The fathers attended the new miſſionary for ſome days, aſſiſting him in getting his Indians together, and civilizing them; in building a chapel, and ſetting up huts of boughs, and bringing the miſſion into ſome form; after which they returned to their former occupations. Father Mayorga by degrees, and with the uſual fatigues, conſtituted his miſſion. He had ſome years before conſecrated his church with great ſolemnity. The greateſt part of his Indians he got together in two viſitation towns, San Ignacio and

San Juan, beſides San Joſeph the capital, and ſome ſcattered rancherias, who however conſtantly attended the catechiſm. He erected a ſeminary of boys in his houſe, and another of girls with a miſtreſs, as likewiſe an hoſpital; and entirely ſupplied all the three. He laid out ſome ſmall fields for maize near San Ignacio, the ſoil of the other two, admitting only of vines, which thrive very well there. His ſpiritual labours he diſcharged with ſuch zeal and affection, that it was a pleaſure to ſee the acquiſitions, the devotion, and good deportment of this little community; and in which it ſtill happily perſeveres, many Indians being admitted to the ſacrament within the year. Some years after he was ſucceeded in this cure by father Francis Xavier Wagmer, who died here on the 12th of October 1744, amidſt his ſucceſsful endeavours for the advancement of religion.

Some other ſpots convenient for founding miſſions had already been diſcovered: and within a few years on the return of father Salva Tierra to California, others more convenient were found; but the misfortunes and diſtreſſes by ſea and land, at that time hindered the total accompliſhment of the father's fervent deſires. The San Xavier bark, which, from the beginging of the miſſion, had hitherto been of great

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uſe in tranſporting proviſions, ſailed from Loretto in Auguſt 1709, with three thouſand dollars on board for purchaſing a ſupply, and to bring it over, together with what ſhould be given by the miſſionaries: but a violent ſtorm, which laſted three days, drove it on the barren coaſt of the Seris, beyond Puerto de Guaymas, and ſixty leagues north of Yaqui, where it was ſtranded among ſhelves and rocks; ſome of the men were drowned, and others ſaved themſelves in the boat. This diſaſter at ſea was followed by another on the land, and of no leſs conſequence: for this country being entirely inhabited by gentile Seris and Tepocas, at that time bitter enemies to the chriſtians of the miſſions among the Pimas, Cocomaques, and Guaymas, they were obliged after taking all the treaſure out of the launch, and burying it, to return in the boat, through a thouſand dangers and diſtreſſes to Yaqui. But the Seris ſoon raked up the depoſitum, took the helm from the bark, and damaged it very much in ſeveral places, to get out the nails. A diving bark was ſent to father Salva-Tierra with this account, and there being at the miſſion, no other veſſel but the Roſario, and that in a very bad condition, he reſolved to go in perſon, to repair the San Xavier. The father, whilſt viſitor of Sonora, had made a peace betwixt the Seris chriſtians,

and the Pimas. However, it was not long before the Seris were guilty of a cruel violation of it, in the murder of forty Pimas; and though the ſoldiers of the neareſt garriſon purſued them to their coaſts, it availed little, for they made for the iſlands of Sal-ſi-puedes, and there was no diſlodging them without veſſels. Father Salva-Tierra had been applied to for thoſe of his miſſion, but there was no ſparing them, eſpecially as the fathers intended to go in perſon to the Seris, both for ſurveying the gulf, as far as the river Colorado, as likewiſe for reſtoring tranquility a ſecond time; hoping that by extending the ſpiritual conqueſt from California, he ſhould have no difficulty to convert and make chriſtians of them. Thus both coaſts would be reduced to the king and the goſpel. At the time this expedition was deferred, the diſtreſſes of his poor and vacant miſſion would not admit of the execution of any of theſe zealous ſchemes, however well concerted. But now, on the 6th of October, he went in the Roſario to Guaymas, where he directed that the bark ſhould ſail to the ancient deſerted port of San Juan Baptiſta, with ſeamen, officers, and proviſions; others were ordered in the boat to the ſhore, where the San Xavier was ſtranded. As for the father himſelf, he choſe to go by land, attended by fourteen Yaqui Indians, though

though it was extremely rugged, and inhabited by enemies, purely to have an opportunity of planting peace and religion among the Seris, and viſiting the Pimas and Guaymas.

In this journey, which was attended with great hardſhips, he came to the villages of the two laſt newly aſſembled by the fathers Piccolo and Baſſaldua, where he inſtructed the adults, and baptiſed the children. He brought many of the rancherias of the Seris and Tepocas to peaceable inclinations, which happy work, beſides his perſuaſive elocution, was not a little forwarded by the reſpectable ſweetneſs of his air, which never failed immediately to gain the hearts of the ſavages. Two days he and his company ſuffered a terrible thirſt, not having ſeen a ſingle drop of water during that time. At length he came where the San Xavier was ſtranded, and found the men belonging to the boat, deſtitute of all food, having only wild herbs to eat, which they boiled. He relieved them with what proviſions he brought, but they were ſoon ſpent among ſuch numbers. He had wrote to the fathers Fernando Bayerca and Miguel de Almazan, as the neareſt miſſionaries, to ſend him proviſions; but neither Indians nor Spaniards would venture to bring them through the country of the Seris, except one Indian, who boldly came with a ſmall ſup-

ply, and to him the Seris were so friendly, as to shew him the way to the shore. The distress was such at this time, that the father expecting nothing but death, wrote a letter to the marquis de Villa Puerte with a list of the debts of the mission, in order to the discharge of them; and this letter he gave to a faithful lad, to be delivered at Guaymas: but providence reserved him for farther services, for by the assistance of a little maize, furnished him by the savages, he was enabled to undertake a new journey to the harbour of San Juan Baptista, which the Rosaria had already reached, though he had still fourteen leagues to travel. At a little distance, he found the rancheria of Indians, who had carried off the cargo of the San Xavier, and damaged the bark. These appeared provoked and stood to their arms: an old man animating them with terrible vociferations. The father advanced alone towards them, and though unacquainted with the language, which is different from that of Pimera, he, by signs, kind gestures, and little presents to the old chief and his sons, gained the good will of the Indians: but hearing the explosions of the bark's pateraroes, an unusual sound to them, many of them were terrified, and brought him the money and goods they had plundered, and agreed to terms of peace with their neighbours.

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The people of the Rosario came with provisions to the shore where the San Xavier bark lay; but it was two months before she was fit for the sea; during which interval, they were several times in want of provisions. For though the missionaries, who had now nothing to apprehend from the Seris, were not wanting to send them supplies, the quantity was not sufficient for so large a number of people, this having been a very barren year through all New Spain. The father knowing, that thirty leagues up the country, there was a garrison called Nuestra Sennora de Guadaloupe, the captain of which, at that time, was don Francisco Xavier Valenzuela, who had served as a common soldier in Catalonia; he writ to him, who immediately sent what succours he could, and soon after came in person, with some of his men and a larger supply. But neither he nor his veterans, when they saw the distresses of the father and his company, could refrain from tears. The father, unwilling to lose the time necessary for refiting the San Xavier, undertook the conversion of the savages of that coast. In order to this, he desired father Almanaz to translate the catechism into their language; and incited by little presents, the Indians took it so readily, that he thought all his labours fully recompensed. The Seris had some years before desired baptism,

baptiſm, and the fathers to inſtruct them like their neighbours: and above three hundred at the invitation of father Gaſper Thomas, miſſionary of Qucuguerpe had agreed to live at his miſſion. And many others deſired the ſame favour of father Adam Gil, miſſionary of Populo, who undertook to viſit them, offering to remove to his miſſion, though the climate was far from being deſirable. But father Gil, unable with all his application, to overcome the difficulties of their language, could never inſtruct them. He petitioned the father provincial, to be miſſionary to the Seris; but his miſſion was prevented by the revolt of the Tarahumares and their ſubſequent wars with the neighbouring Pimas and Guaymas. Their former requeſts, and their preſent inſtances, together with the deſire of inſtructing all from Guayma, and the oppoſite coaſt of California, to which the reduction of them was of ſuch importance, now determined father Juan Maria, to baptiſe their children, which they offered with a kind of emulation; but ſtill the reconciliation betwixt them was wanting; and in order to this, he invited the children of the ſeveral nations of the Seris, Pimas, Tepocas, and Guaymas, to a grand feaſt on the day of killing the cattle, which had been brought from the garriſon of Guadaloupe, for ſupplying the

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two barks. The old Indians came with the children, as the father imagined, without any apprehenſion, confiding in the reſpect which all paid him as their common benefactor. Here a peace was readily concluded, and the Seris were promiſed that they ſhould ſoon ſee miſſionaries among them, to inſtruct and take care of them.

The father was extremely affected at the unhappy ſtate of ſo many mortals, ſo well diſpoſed for embracing chriſtianity. On the other hand, he knew the arrears and incumbrances of the provinces, the difficulties of new miſſions, and above all, the want of ſubjects, on account of the calamities and diſturbances, that then reigned in Europe.

California, however, required the father's preſence; and accordingly, as ſoon as the bark was refitted, and he returned from viſiting, inſtructing, and comforting the people of Guadaloupe, he embarked and ſailed through the channel, betwixt the iſlands of Sal-ſi-puedes, finding it, contrary to common report, navigable. He afterwards went to San Xavier, and ſent back the Roſario to Loretto, going in the former to the bay of Conception, to pay a viſit to father Piccolo, who was already appointed to the miſſion of Santa Roſalia Mulege. From thence he ſailed to the bay of San Dionyſio,

Dionyſio, or Loretto, highly pleaſed that he had diſcovered the part of the gulf deſired. He travelled over great part of the coaſt of the Seris, and along the mountains as far as the ſea. He ſettled peace among the inhabitants, and prepared them for the reception of the goſpel: and the Roſaria was ſaved from being taken by the Pitchilingues or pirates, better known among Europeans by the name of Freebooters, and the Engliſh and Dutch privateers which infeſted thoſe ſeas. Theſe, indeed, alarmed the viceroy's vigilance, but he ſent orders at that time to Loretto, that the Californian veſſel ſhould go out to meet the ſhip from the Philippine iſlands, and give them notice to keep at a great diſtance from the coaſt, as the enemy were looking out for her. The veſſel would certainly have fallen into their hands, being under a neceſſity of paſſing in ſight of the harbour of La Paz, where ſome of them lay. But the misfortune of the bark, hindered the execution of the viceroy's orders, and ſaved the veſſel from being taken by the enemy.

Soon after theſe tranſactions, the ſmall pox broke out in a terrible manner among the Indians, ſweeping away the far greater part of the children, and many of the adults. Nor was this all; the frequent ſcarcity, which reduced them to live only on maize and ſalt meat, unleſs

leſs when ſome refreſhments happily arrived from the other ſhore, gave riſe to many diſtempers in the garriſon, and proved fatal to ſeveral perſons. Theſe epidemias it was apprehended, would produce inſurrections in many rancherias already converted, the ſorcerers imputing the diſtempers to the father, and perſuaded the Indians that they killed the children with the water in baptiſm, and the adults with the extreme unction. Theſe ſeditious reports and falſities found too much credit, on account of the great number of people who died: and had not the Neophites been remarkably faithful to the fathers, the fruit of all their labours would at once have been loſt. Beſides theſe calamities, New Spain had from the year 1709, laboured under a continual ſcarcity, which greatly increaſed the difficulty of ſending ſuccours to California; and to complete the misfortunes of the miſſion, it loſt two barks, the expences of which were very heavy.

In November 1711, father Juan Maria ſent to Matanchel father Franciſco Peralta, who came to California two years before, and had the ſuperintendency of San Juan Ligui, in the room of father Ugarte, deſiring that he would aſſiſt at the intended repair of the Roſaria, and, if it was found neceſſary, to build another veſſel. But ſuch were the arts and frauds of the officers

officers and ſailors, who had the care of the work, that, availing themſelves of the father's want of ſkill, after an expence of ſome thouſands of dollars, the bark was in a worſe condition than before; and within a few days, by the wicked contrivance of thoſe very perſons, though there was but little wind, run aſhore, though only in ballaſt, and broke to pieces. There was now a neceſſity for building another. The maſter builder was a Chineſe or Philippine, who, beſides his ignorance of his buſineſs, was an artful deceiver, having conducted the chargeable repair of the Roſaria, which he had the chief hand in running aſhore. Above a year and a half was ſpent in building this veſſel, through the various frauds of the perſons employed, ſo that the charge of it amounted to twenty-two thouſand dollars. And after ſo enormous an expence, the veſſel, inſtead of being ſafe, or a good ſailer, had neither beauty nor proportion. In this veſſel, however, they were to embark with the accounts and proviſions. They accordingly put to ſea, but the veſſel was immediately the ſport of the winds and waves, amidſt the continual murmurs and imprecations of the ſeamen, ſome of whom had been employed in building her. The wind drove them to cape San Lucas, and back again to the iſlands of Maſaztlan, where ſome, from a ſenſe of

of their danger, were unwilling to go on board a ſecond time. The others continued their unfortunate voyage; till, after many difficulties, they had ſight of the coaſt of Loretto. But on the night of the 8th of December, a ſtorm came on which drove the veſſel to the other coaſt, where they ran her aſhore.

In this extremity, they awakened all who were aſleep, that they might make uſe of boards and pieces of timber, or get on to the poop, where twenty-two perſons had ſought their ſafety, and among theſe the fathers Guillem and Doye, the others, to the number of ſix, beſides father Benſto Guiſi, being drowned. The diſmal ſcene of ſuch danger and diſtreſs, increaſed by the obſcurity and tempeſtuouſneſs of the night, may be better conceived than deſcribed. Four of the ſeamen cleared the little boat, and, thinking of nothing but their own ſafety, committed themſelves to the ſea. The others, who lay floating with the bark on the ſtern and main maſt, after a great deal of labour, unlaſhed the larger boat, but had nothing to bale out the water, except two ſmall calabaſhes. They took what firſt offered to ſerve for oars, and a piece of an old ſail: and thus put off, committing themſelves to the mercy of the waves till morning, when they found they were ſeveral leagues from the land. On this

this diſcovery, they made ſail towards it, and continued rowing for a day and a half againſt the current, miſtaking the land for California. But on going aſhore, the ſailers took it for the coaſt of Yaqui, though it proved to be of Cinaloa, one hundred leagues from Yaqui, whither the ſtrength of the current carried them in a few hours, to a ſmall creek called Barva-Chivato. How great muſt have been the miſeries of this ſhort paſſage, eighteen perſons in one boat, and all naked, wet, pierced with the cold, quite ſpent with rowing, without water, without food, and, when landed, without any other comfort than that of having eſcaped the ſea. They found no fire, nor utenſils for making any. And to ſatisfy their hunger, they were obliged to eat the oyſters, wilks, ſea weeds, roots, and wild herbs. The country was covered with briars and brambles, and though at every ſtep, their fleſh was lacerated in a terrible manner, there was a neceſſity for making their way through in queſt of the inhabitants. In this two days were ſpent, in extreme toil and pain, when it was their good fortune to find an open plain, where by the information of an Indian of the country, the governor of the town of Tamazula viſited them with horſes, water, and maize-cakes for their relief, and to enable them to reach

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the reſidence of the general Rezaval, which was but a few leagues off, and from thence they travelled to Guazave, the neareſt Cinaloa miſſion in that country. Here they refreſhed themſelves three days with father Franciſco Mazaregos, who, to cloath and entertain theſe ſhipwrecked perſons, liberally expended all the apparel and proviſions he was maſter of, the Indians chearfully following his example. Thence they proceeded to the town of Cinaloa, where they were ſeveral days entertained by father Juan Yrazoqui, rector of the college, till each departed to his appointed ſtation. All theſe hardſhips and dangers, inſtead of deterring father Guillem, were rather incentives to him; ſo that in a few days, he ſet out by land, on the long journey to the miſſions of Yaqui, in order, at the end of the following month of January 1714, to paſs over into California, when, in the San Xavier bark, he ſuffered a ſecond ſhipwreck. This occaſioned his being inveſted with the miſſion of San Juan Ligui, where he reſided ſeveral years, till he was called to the viſitation town. Now the miſſions and their ſupport, a ſecond time came to depend upon the San Xavier bark; and the proviſions and the other goods in the new Roſario, being utterly loſt, the cloathing and other commodities, ſent for by the fathers, ſeamen,

and ſoldiers, were wanting. They were without money, it having been exhauſted in purchaſing of an unfortunate veſſel and goods. And though the audience of Guadalaxara were pleaſed to take into conſideration the frauds committed by the officers and ſhipwrights, in building that veſſel, which had been loſt, and inflicted ſome puniſhment upon them; yet theſe examples had little effect in California. At laſt theſe misfortunes and dangers reached Mexico, and the viceroy immediately ordered the bilander, called Nueſtra Sennora de Guadaloupe, which had been regiſtered, to be ſent to California. She was valued at four thouſand dollars, chargeable on the aſſignment, with orders likewiſe to go on the diſcovery of ſome harbour for the Philippine ſhip: but after the third voyage, father Ugarte cauſed the bilander to be ſurveyed by an intelligent ſhipwright, who diſcovered great defects and frauds in her keel, the bottom and upper works; and the whole veſſel appeared to be patched up with pieces of a French ſhip, caſt away on the coaſt of Peru: and accordingly, the next voyage ſhe was loſt, only by ſtriking on a ſand bank. At the ſame time, another bark belonging to Peru was alſo loſt. She had been purchaſed about that time, inſtead of the San Joſeph, which, ſinking at Acapulco, had been ſold.

The San Xavier bark alſo ſuffered by bad weather; and her frequent repairs ran away with a great deal of time and money.

In the mean time the proviſions for the garriſon and miſſion, were brought in the diving barks of the inhabitants of the other ſhore; but the freights occaſioned an enormous expence without end. Such a ſeries of misfortunes hindered father Salva-Tierra from ſurveying the gulf on both ſides, with its iſlands, as far as the river Colorado, as he earneſtly deſired. The reduction of the Seris and Tepocas, of ſo much importance and ſo happily begun, was alſo diſcontinued, together with the ſearch for the harbour, on the ſouth coaſt, ſo much deſired for the Philippine ſhip. The miſſions in the north of California, were far from being ſettled as they ought to have been: and thoſe to the northward were at enmity with the Guaycuri, whom it was ſo neceſſary, both for the intereſt of the king and religion, to appeaſe and convert, that no enemies might be left behind, from Loretto to cape San Lucas.

Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties and ſolicitudes, the Californian miſſionaries did not, as far as circumſtances would permit, abate their labours. They reduced many wandering rancherias into towns, whither the Indians uſed to repair for inſtruction, while the ne-

ceſſity of ſearching for fiſh and wild fruits, did not diſperſe them among the foreſts and along the ſhores. Father Ugarte made ſeveral progreſſes to the ſouthward from San Xavier, whilſt father Piccolo did the like to the northward, from Santa Roſalia Mulege; the Indians had ſeveral times come in great numbers from the rancherias of Cadigomo, near the coaſt of the South ſea, lying N. W. of Mulege, requeſting that he would come and viſit them, and bring with them a father to live in their country. Accordingly, in the year 1712, though in a bad ſtate of health, he complied with their deſire, being attended by the captain, ſome ſoldiers, and Indians. By the help of guides, they paſſed the mountains of Vajademin, and on the weſt ſide of it, met with a ſmall brook, which they followed to its iſſue into the ſea, in order to ſurvey that part of the coaſt. But finding it by no means proper for a ſettlement, they returned the ſame way, and at eight leagues diſtance from the ſea, the father marked out the ground for a new miſſion. Hither all the neighbouring rancherias reſorted, entreating him that he would ſtay with them; and as an inducement to comply with their deſires, they promiſed to give him their beſt pitahayas and feathers, as likewiſe their children for baptiſm. The father promiſed them a miſſionary,

miſſionary, and was not wanting on the firſt opportunity, to beg that the father provincial would ſend a proper perſon; but it was not till five years after, that the miſſion could be founded, though the father, in the interim, viſited them ſeveral times from his own miſſion, whither they uſed to be continually coming with the ſame entreaties, though at the diſtance of thirty leagues, and the road very craggy and broken. The ſame requeſt was alſo made at different times, by the N. Cochimes, of the rancherias of Cada-kaaman, which in their language ſignifies Sedge-brook, lying on the ſkirts of the ridge of mountains, towards the coaſt of the South ſea, forty leagues diſtant from Santa Roſalia. This journey he undertook on the 6th of November 1706, with only three ſoldiers and ſome Mulege Indians, to take care of two large aſſes, on which they carried the proviſions for the whole company. After travelling three days, he was met on the ſhore of Amuna by the rancheria, to which in other progreſſes, the father had given the name of Santa Aguida: hence he viſited thoſe of Santa Lucia and Santa Nympha: and laſtly, on the 19th, came to the ſpring of the brook, where he found three new rancherias. They made great entertainments for the father, and accompanied him all the way from the

place where they met, going before to remove the ſtones, and preſenting him with ſtrings of pitahayas, and ſhewing all poſſible demonſtrations of joy: as on the other hand, they ſhewed themſelves extremely concerned at ſeeing the hampers of proviſions wet; the aſſes having by the careleſſneſs of the attendants, run down into a pond, overgrown with ſedge. Many of the rancherias of the neighbourhood, alſo came hither with the ſame alacrity, the women eagerly bringing their children for baptiſm, which the father adminiſtered to fifty. He remained with them till the month of December, comforting and inſtructing them, and a large arbour was made for the celebration of maſs. He ordered the brook to be traced, and it was found that ten or twelve leagues further, it loſes itſelf under ground. As the place was fit for fields and paſtures, and every way convenient for ſettling a miſſion, he promiſed to ſend them a father who ſhould live among them, and take care of them, though for the want of labourers and other impediments, this could not be performed till the year 1728, when a miſſion was founded under the title of San Ignacio.

Proviſions now beginning to fail, and the cold ſetting in, which is there very ſenſible, it was thought adviſeable to return. And the Indians

Indians ſent with him guides, that he might take another way by ſeveral unknown rancherias, whom he found equally inclined to receive the goſpel, if there had not been an irremediable want of preachers. The venerable father, not content with the diſcovery made by thoſe under him, was continually forming meaſures for ſurveying the gulf, and, at leaſt, once more viſit the Seris and the Tepocas, ſo unhappily forſaken. In the year 1716, he laboured very diligently towards pacifying the Guaycuros. In order to which, he ſailed in the Guadaloupe brigantine to La Paz, that being the ſcene of the ill-adviſed attempt of Otondo, the memory of which was continually refreſhed, by the mutual violences committed by the pearl fiſhers in the neighbourhood. He carried with him three Guaycuri priſoners, whom he took out of the pearl fiſhing barks of New Spain, that he might deliver them in peace to their countrymen: and that they might be witneſſes of the kind treatment, which the Indians at Loretto received from the fathers, but the deſign totally miſcarried. The father landed, together with the captain, ſoldiers, and Loretto Indians, who firſt leaped over-board and ſwam aſhore. The Guaycuros, who lived in huts along the ſhore, at the ſight of ſuch a number of people, haſtily betook themſelves to flight, with their

wives and children, the Loretto Indians, and hurried on by that brutal impulſe, when it perceives cowardice in another, run after them among the rocks and woods, without regarding the orders of the father to ſtop. The Guaycuros out-ran them, but they came up with their wives, who finding the impoſſibility of making their eſcape, turned about, and made a ſhort defence with ſtones. But the Loretto Indians fell upon them with ſavage barbarity; and in their fury, had infallibly deſtroyed theſe innocent creatures, had not the captain and ſome of the nimbleſt of his ſoldiers come up to this infamous encounter, though it was with ſome difficulty our ſavages were reſtrained from any farther cruelties. But though the Guaycuri women muſt perceive the reſentment both of the captain and the ſoldiers, for this ſavage uſage, they did not overcome their fears, for the captain approaching them with an air of kindneſs, they immediately turned their backs, and betook themſelves to a ſecond flight. Father Salva-Tierra was extremely concerned at this adventure, but concealed his diſpleaſure. This was, however, no time for bringing about a peace, after this freſh inſult on the natives, in the perſons of their wives, nor would other circumſtances admit of any long ſtay at La Paz, till the minds of the ſavages were quiet-

ed;

ed; ſo that all the father could do, was to make the priſoners ſenſible that what had been done, was entirely contrary to the will and intention of himſelf and the Spaniards, the ſole end of whoſe coming to being enter into connections of friendſhip. He diſtributed little preſents among them, and diſmiſſed them very affectionately, that they might prepare their countrymen to accept of offers of peace on another occaſion. He now returned to Loretto, in the bilander, and afterwards ſent her to Matanchel for the goods, in which paſſage ſhe was ſtranded in a ſtorm, the whole cargo loſt, and nine perſons drowned. The only veſſel now left them, was the San Xavier, which had ſerved eighteen years, namely, from the commencement of the miſſion.

SECT. XI.

Father Salva-Tierra eſtabliſhes a ſpiritual and civil government for the miſſionaries of CALIFORNIA, and of the Indians.

In the ſame year 1716, amidſt ſo many diſappointments, father Salva-Tierra had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the ſeveral benefactions to the miſſions, already founded, ſecured in the manner he deſired, and likewiſe a better form of government eſtabliſhed. This will give us occaſion

occaſion to ſpeak of that which the father introduced into California. From the firſt entrance into that country, the father ſaw the abſolute neceſſity of having an agent at Mexico, for collecting the revenues of the miſſions already founded, the contributions and ſuccours of the benefactors, for buying up the cloathing, proviſions, and other goods for ſupplying the fathers, ſoldiers, and mariners, employed in the reduction, together with the ſervice of the churches and the Indians; and likewiſe that he ſhould ſolicit the affairs of the miſſion, depending before the royal audience and the viceroy, attend to the purchaſe, building and repairing of veſſels, and manage all the temporal concerns of this conqueſt, ſo remote, and neceſſitous. During the firſt year, this was in an exemplary manner diſcharged by father Juan Ugarte. He was ſucceeded in his agency for California, by father Alexandro Romano, with a diſpenſation at the remonſtrance of father Salva-Tierra, from any other function or buſineſs, than the concerns of the miſſion, both as it required an agent free from any other incumbrance, and as the monies appropriated to California could by no means be mixed with thoſe of the colleges and the province; nor be exchanged or employed to any other end, than the intention of the benefactors.

nefactors. The father diſcharged this office with great zeal for ſeveral years, till in 1719, he was appointed provincial of New Spain: his ſucceſſor was father Joſeph Echevirria, who held it eleven years; when, in 1729, being nominated viſitor of California, he was ſucceeded by Hernan Franciſco Tompez, who, after acquitting himſelf with a prudence and activity, greatly to the advantage of the miſſion, was removed by death, in May 1750. His majeſty's aſſignment to the miſſions of New Spain, both thoſe ſerved by the jeſuits and other orders, is three hundred dollars a year, for the ſupport of the miſſionary and his unavoidable expences with the Indians: an allowance, which in Europe, for want of better information may appear extravagant: whereas for Ameri- it is very ſcanty, eſpecially with regard to the remote miſſions, both on account of the ſmall value of ſilver, and the exceſſive price of all European goods; but much more on account of the difficulty, expence, and waſte of the tranſportation of them, which coſts half the the value, and ſometimes the whole is loſt: For what muſt the expences in a journey of four or five hundred leagues through a country for the greateſt part deſart, and for ſeveral leagues together, covered with craggy mountains and thick foreſts, amount to? and where beſides

beſides there is an abſolute neceſſity of carrying all the proviſions both for man and beaſt? The expences in California, being much enhanced, on account of the diſtance, veſſels, loſs of goods, and barrenneſs of the ſoil, even for proviſions, the allowance for each miſſionary, has been ſtated at five hundred dollars per annum: ſo that they, whoſe good diſpoſition lead them to found a miſſion, have endowed it with a principal of ten thouſand dollars, the intereſt of which, at five per cent, furniſhes the ſtated ſupport for the miſſionary. All the miſſions of California, hitherto, owe their foundation to private perſons, not one of them being on the treaſury eſtabliſhment: for though his majeſty ordered others to be founded on his account, nothing has been done in conformity to his commands.

The benefactors and founders did not put this money into the ſociety's hands, but it remained with them, the intereſt being paid every year, whilſt the miſſion was founding, till father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra being provincial, and on a viſitation in California, he judged that it would be better to lay out the capitals in land, that thus they might not be expoſed to the hazards of commerce, as in the affair of don Juan Baptiſta Lopez, the founder of San Juan de Ligui; who failing, all the capital of

that

that miſſion was loſt. Beſides, as the miſſionaries of California were obliged to buy cattle and corn in New Spain, they might ſupply themſelves much cheaper from the products of their own lands. Accordingly he opened his mind to father Ugarte, who approved and commended the project. On his return to Mexico, that the affair might be conſidered with that preciſion, which the ſociety on all occaſions obſerves, he laid it before the provincial conſiſtory. The deſign met with great approbation, eſpecially from father Alexandro Romano, agent for California, and ſoon after provincial.

Accordingly father Romano was commiſſioned to collect the funds, and purchaſe farms, and manage them for the account of the miſſion. Thus he ſucceſſively bought the farm of Guadaloupe, in the valley of Acolman or Oculna; that of Huaſteca for breeding ſheep; that of Huapango, and that of Sarco. In theſe purchaſes, were laid out all the capitals of the ſeven miſſions already founded; the five thouſand dollars, left to California by the duke of Abrantes and Linares; four thouſand dollars, the legacy of a gentleman of Guadalaxara, and a great part of the ſmaller donations.

Nothing in this world is ſo excellent, but it may be viewed in different lights, and thus be

be liable to exceptions. But this procedure ſeemed to be dictated by prudence, regularity, and religion. The miſſionaries might have been ſent among the Indians, as ſheep among wolves, without ſcrip or ſtaff. But whoever admires the apoſtles, in founding churches after this manner, will not therefore condemn them, for making collections among the brethren, nor the diſtribution of ſuſtenance to orphans and widows, which was the office of the deacons. How can the miſſionaries live on the charities of the Indians, when almoſt the only means of bringing about their converſions, is to ſupport them at the miſſions?

Thus the agent at Mexico ſuperintended the management of theſe farms, and received their products, and likewiſe the eighteen thouſand dollars, aſſigned by the king for the payment of the royal garriſon, and the men belonging to the barks. Out of the produce of the farms, every miſſionary is provided with apparel, utenſils, proviſions, medicines, mules, and other neceſſaries for himſelf and his Indians, to the neat amount of his ſtipend, which never riſes to any thing conſiderable, the charges and loſſes being regulated by a genuine average for preſerving harmony and equality, if there be any ſurplus, it is employed in travelling expences, purchaſing of veſſels, gratuities to the ſoldiers

ſoldiers and ſailors, preparations and charges of new expeditions, and extraordinary ſuccours for the more ſpeedy advancement of the miſſions. And if there be a deficiency in the neceſſary expences, it falls on the miſſionaries. Philip V. was pleaſed to order, that the miſſions of California, ſhould, like the other miſſions in America, be ſupplied at his expence, with every thing neceſſary for divine worſhip; as bells, images, ornaments, lamps, oil, and wine for the maſſes: yet this gracious order has never been put in execution. Every thing has been purchaſed out of the allowances of the miſſionaries, the contributions, or the effects of the miſſion. The building, repair, whether ordinary and extraordinary, of the church, is done at the charge of the miſſionary, who is the parochial prieſt of the Indians: but this is not the only conveniency of the prieſts of California: in all parts the labourer is worthy of his hire, and he who ſerves at the altar, may be allowed to eat of things belonging to the altar. Wherefore it ſeems juſt, that he who ſows the ſpiritual ſeed, ſhould reap ſome temporal advantages. On this account it was not ſtrange, that the new chriſtians of California ſupported their prieſts, and returned their affectionate ſervices, with ſome temporal benefits. Whereas, on the contrary, the prieſts and

miſ-

miſſionaries, who are jeſuits, are obliged not only to maintain their churches, but even their pariſhioners.

At firſt the fathers ſubſiſted all the Indians, who came to ſettle in villages, on condition that they ſhould no longer wander among the woods and mountains, but be inſtructed in the faith: and in theſe charities, great part of the contributions of the benefactors, has been expended. And after they were thus brought together, it being impoſſible to ſubſiſt all, and equally ſo to make fields for ſowing in many parts, either from the nature of the ſoil, want of water, or the innate indolence and ſloth of the people, the following method was taken. Firſt, the miſſionaries ſupported all the Indians, who attended divine ſervice. Every morning and night, they have an allowance of Atole, the name they give to their pottage, made of maize, boiled and afterwards bruiſed, macerated in water, and put a ſecond time over the fire: at noon they are ſerved with Pozoli, or boiled maize, with freſh or ſalt meat, and fruits or vegetables, according as the miſſion is provided. In the ſame manner the Indian governor of the village, the ſick, the aged, and the children of all the rancherias, male and female, from ſix to twelve years, are provided with food. Beſides this, every week the ſame allowance

allowance is given to all the Indians of two rancherias, male and female, in conſideration that they all come in their order, two by two, to the head village of the miſſion, in order to renew their inſtructions. Laſtly, every Sunday, all who attend divine ſervice have a portion of victuals, and in paſſion week, the like is ſent to all the rancherias.

The miſſionary prieſt likewiſe cloathes all his pariſhioners with ſerges, bays, and palmillas, a ſort of courſe cloth woven in Old Spain: he alſo provides them with cloaks and blankets, which he procures from Mexico on his ſtipend. Thoſe who can work are inſtructed by the fathers in the management of the fields, and watering the ground; the product of which, is entirely for their own advantage; and the conſequence is, that they gather it, and immediately waſte the whole, unleſs the fathers take care to ſave it up, in order to make a proper diſtribution, or to ſend relief to another miſſion in neceſſity. Wine is the only product withheld from them, and this in order to prevent drunkenneſs; and it is for this reaſon, that though the vintages are but inconſiderable, ſome quantities of it, there being but few conſumers in California, have been exported to New Spain, in exchange for other commodities. What wine the father has is chiefly given to the ſick, whom he

likewiſe ſupplies with medicines; ſo that a miſſionary and prieſt of California, is not only charged with the care of their ſouls, but likewiſe with all the ſeveral duties of a father of a family: together with the ſeveral mechanical occupations from a labourer to a cook. He is likewiſe a tutor, apothecary, ſurgeon and phyſician to all: and this without the leaſt profit, advantage, or reward, ſpending his own ſubſtance, abridging himſelf of conveniencies, even neceſſaries, to ſupply their wants.

Such was the government eſtabliſhed by father Salva-Tierra, relating to the temporal proviſion of California, and it is obſerved to this day. The civil government introduced by the ſame father at Loretto, and partly by his example and direction in the other miſſionaries, conſiſts chiefly in the following articles: that in every miſſion newly founded, the father is attended by a ſoldier, who within certain bounds has the power of the captain of the garriſon. When the father has aſſembled any rancherias, he appoints the perſon, whom he thinks moſt proper, as governor of the village: another Indian to take care of the church, and out of each rancheria, a perſon of the moſt promiſing morals, and particularly inſtructed, is appointed catechiſt. The governor's office is to keep peace and good order; and if any thing happens

happens that he cannot remedy, he is to acquaint the father and ſoldier with it. The church-warden is to take care of the church and keep it clean; he is alſo to take notice of thoſe that fail coming to maſs, and other exerciſes of devotion; thoſe that do not behave with proper reſpect; and thoſe who either return to their former ſuperſtitions, or betray any ill will againſt the fathers, or diſguſt at the inſtructions. The catechiſt of the rancheria ſummons them every morning before they go to the woods to repeat their prayers and catechiſm: and if any thing deſerving animadverſion happens in the rancheria, he acquaints the father of it.

During the abſence of the father, either to viſit villages and rancherias, attend the ſick, or terminate quarrels, the ſoldier acts as his vicegerent, and has an eye to every thing. He is at the father's order to go wherever it is neceſſary; he can ſeize delinquents, and mildly puniſh them, unleſs in capital caſes, when he is to lay the caſe before the captain of the garriſon, who is inveſted with the juridical power. Leſſer faults are puniſhed with whipping, and the greater with impriſonment or the ſtocks. Towards introducing the puniſhment of whipping practiſed in other provinces on the Indians, father Salva-Tierra made uſe of the method propoſed by the captain of the garriſon, there be-

ing in the beginning great numbers of pilferers, that an example became neceſſary, the captain ſurpriſed one of theſe with the booty in his hands. On this all the Indians being called together, the boy was charged with the theft before them, and the turpitude of his crime expoſed in the backeſt colours. The captain had ſentenced him to a very ſevere puniſhment, and all agreed that he deſerved it as a warning to the reſt. Then father Salva-Tierra interceded that it might be changed into a whipping; this was complied with, and he ſuffered only a few laſhes. Thus the puniſhment was introduced, which however it may in Europe cauſe diſorders, is otherwiſe in America, by reaſon of the temper of the Indians, to whom greater rigour and ſtrictneſs would be unſupportable; and this is executed by their countrymen and companions. As to the ſpiritual government, beſides what we have ſaid in ſpeaking of the foundations of ſome miſſions, in general it is uniform in all: the firſt care is of the children, as the whole depends on their education. Some from all the miſſions are brought up at Loretto, which has a reading, writing, and ſinging ſchool, with proper maſters who come from the oppoſite coaſt. They become gradually poliſhed by converſation; they are taught the Spaniſh, and afterwards are promoted to be church-

church-wardens or catechiſts in their rancherias, where they are greatly reſpected. At the head villages every morning, the church-warden aſſembles all the inhabitants in the church, whither the rancherias come by turns, and there the Te Deum is ſung. This is followed by the maſs, and afterwards by the catechiſm, which is tranſlated into their languages: and ſeveral times a week, the whole concludes with an explication, or ſermon; inſtructing and animating them in every part of the chriſtian life. The adult chriſtians then undertake ſome employment, or go among the woods in queſt of ſuſtenance. At night they all meet again in the church, and perform their devotions. Every Sunday they walk in proceſſion round the village ſinging; they then return to the church, where a ſermon is preached to them. The like is done at Loretto every Saturday, in Spaniſh, for the garriſon.

SECT.

SECT. XII.

Account of the Goverment eſtabliſhed by father Salva-Tierra, in the royal garriſon, and among the ſoldiers, veſſels, and ſeamen, belonging to California; as likewiſe of that eſtabliſhed by his advice in pearl fiſhery.

In order to give at once a complete idea of the government of California, in all its branches, it will be proper to ſubjoin that which father Salva-Tierra procured to be eſtabliſhed in the royal garriſon and ſhipping, as the government to this day, continues on the ſame footing. The judicious reader, will, doubtleſs, be pleaſed with the reaſons for erecting theſe garriſons among the ſavage Indians, for the protection of the miſſionaries and preachers of the goſpel, againſt inſults: and likewiſe, with an apology for that prudent and ſalutary meaſure, in oppoſition to thoſe who are loud in their complaints, that the garriſon and military eſcorts, with which the miſſionaries take care to be guarded, deſtroy that freedom, with which the chriſtian religion ſhould be received. This is a point which concerns not only California, but likewiſe many other provinces of America, where the goſpel is preached

under

under the protection of the garrisons. It is a point, which for many years has been deliberated upon, by order of the kings of Spain, and after the most impartial and mature examination, this method has been established as the best, or even the only one, by which the reduction and conversion of the Americans might be accomplished. They who will not admit as a reason the example of innumerable religions, of several orders, who having undertaken to go alone, without any guard, to preach among the savage Indians, have only obtained the crown of martyrdom by their hands, leaving them at the same time under greater blindness and insolence: Such, I say, may in F. Acosta's excellent work, De procuranda Indorum Salute, see the reasons for this measure, which is no contrivance, or institution of the jesuits, but of the kings of Spain, with the repeated advice of their supreme council: it will soon be seen how in California itself, the want of a garrison, which the jesuits had frequently solicited, was very near proving the ruin in a few days of all the christian communities, formed with immense labour and expence, in the course of forty years. It is sufficient at present, to say that no one is compelled by force to receive the faith; that all who are baptised, desire it not only freely, and

without the leaſt compulſion, but all poſſible aſſurances are given of the ſincerity and perſeverance of the ſubject. The garriſon and ſoldiers check the inſults of the ſavages: but if the orders and intentions of his majeſty, and the Spaniſh government be complied with, they never offer them the leaſt injury, never ſo much as purſuing them unleſs provoked: the chief end of their ſervice is no more than as a juſt and prudent ſafeguard for the lives of the miſſionaries.

Garriſons being thus neceſſary for the reduction of California, father Salva-Tierra eſtabliſhed them from the beginning, but of what little force we have ſeen: afterwards the number of ſoldiers was increaſed or diminiſhed, according to the amount of the contributions, and the poſſibility of paying and ſubſiſting them. When father Piccolo had procured the effectual payment of the ſix thouſand dollars allowed by his majeſty Philip V. the number of ſoldiers became more ſettled: yet this could not cauſe any great augmentation, as every ſoldier in the garriſons of New Biſcay, Sonora, and Cinaloa, received from the king three hundred, and the captain five hundred dollars. But the ſoldiers of California, as their expence was greater, were not contented with this pay. Beſides, the pay of the ſailors, belonging to the

the barks, was alſo extravagant: but at laſt, both, not only conformed to the pay allowed by the king, as we ſhall ſhew, but the number of them has been increaſed, as abſolutely neceſſary, and paid out of the funds of the miſſion. Father Salva-Tierra's firſt care, was to ſolicit for the garriſon, a legal juriſdiction to be lodged in its captain, as an inſtrument of the regal power. This he obtained, by means of the count of Galvez, viceroy: and in the warrant for this purpoſe, were granted to him, all other licences and privileges neceſſary for an eſtabliſhment in California, and ſpecifying the reſpective appointments for the father, the captain, and ſoldiers, with the privileges to which they were intitled. And though the execution of this was oppoſed at Mexico, yet his majeſty was pleaſed to confirm the ſeveral articles in the ſchedule, already mentioned of the 28th of September, directing that no alteration ſhould be made in the government of California, as ſettled at the beginning. Of theſe appointments, privileges, and favours, ſome were nominated for the father, others for the ſoldiers in common, others for the captain, or the enſign his ſubſtitute. The viceroy granted to the father, a licence for carrying ſoldiers to California, and maintaining them at his own expence; and though at preſent the king pays the ſoldiers,

diers, this privilege has not been repealed, of appointing a captain or commander, that is, a perſon of courage, prudence, experience, and religion, but he muſt be confirmed by the viceroy, of inliſting and diſcharging ſoldiers; and laſtly, the captain or ſoldiers were to be under his orders, in progreſſes, eſcortes, and other occaſions, which are not immediately military, theſe being under the captain's direction: the ſoldiers were to enjoy all the rights and privileges of the officers, and ſoldiers of the king's army; their ſervice was to be accounted as in time of war, and on the frontiers, their pay to be on the ſame footing with thoſe of Sonora, Cinaloa, and New Biſcay; and that the certificates which they ſhould bring, ſigned by the captain and the father, ſhould be admitted as authentick, in order to entitle them to thoſe immunities, which they had acquired by their ſervice; the captain of the garriſon, was appointed judge and chief juſticiary of all the country of California; of the ſoldiers in every caſe, whether military or civil; of the ſeamen, ſervants, and ſettlers, and of the Indians: to hear and determine all cauſes, and execute his ſentences. He was likewiſe nominated captain general, not only within the country, but of the ſea and coaſt of California: on which account, the principal veſſel

veſſel of the garriſon, ſhould be called the capitana, and carry a ſuitable enſign, and hoiſt it at coming into any harbour, unleſs at Acapulco, when the Philippine ſhip ſhould happen to be there. Laſtly, he was inveſted with the ſuperintendency over the pearl fiſhery, as ſhall be related in the ſequel.

The military government of the garriſon is the ſame as that of the other frontier garriſons: and the captain is to take care that it be ſtrictly obſerved, to puniſh delinquents, and if neceſſary, caſhier them: though even in this caſe, if the fault be not very great, the man diſcharged is indulged with a certificate: no out-laws are capable of being admitted ſoldiers: and though in the difficulties of the firſt year, the treaſurer Miranda, propoſed to father Salva-Tierra, the ſending to him ſuch perſons, as ſhould be baniſhed by the audience to ſerve without pay; the father declined the offer, as they would do more harm than good, with regard to the moral improvement of the new commencements; moſt of the ſoldiers are always on duty within the garriſon: the others are employed in eſcorting the fathers, ſometimes in progreſſes up the country, ſometimes in the new ſettlement. In every miſſion there is conſtantly a ſoldier for an eſcorte; for though this has been deſired to be diſpenſed with, when under

under no apprehenſions from the Indians, no way has hitherto been found for it. No Indian ſervants of the other coaſt are admitted into the miſſion, this being attended with very great inconveniencies. The father is often obliged to go from the head village, to viſit others and the rancherias, beſides, he is every hour liable to be called to the ſick in different parts. One particular in this government, which may ſeem ſtrange to ſome people, is, that the captain and ſoldiers are under the father; and this has given ſuch diſpleaſure to ſome of his majeſty's miniſters, that in their zeal for the honour of the ſword, they have even formally remonſtrated againſt it to his majeſty. Many other perſons have, and ſtill do expreſs great indignation at it: ſome, I am willing to believe, from a good intention; but the generality are carried away by that ſpirit of contradiction which has ever attended the ſociety in all its proceedings from its commencement; and which it muſt expect, whilſt it acts up to its obligations, in purſuit of the great end of its inſtitution: the caſhiered ſoldiers alſo have frequently furniſhed New Spain with ſtories and complaints againſt the fathers; they have eaſily met with ears open to their calumnies; and have even been abetted in them; and ſometimes with aſſurances that

their pretended wrongs ſhould be redreſſed. Father Salva-Tierra was not ignorant of the reports ſpread againſt the ſociety, and eſpecially againſt himſelf.

Theſe reports were ſtrengthened by the clamours of a captain and ſeveral ſoldiers, who in thoſe years returned full of rancour againſt the father. It was further well known, that the coaſt of California abounded in pearl beds: and to think that the fathers did not make uſe of their Indians, and even of the Spaniards of the garriſon, whom they paid for fiſhing for them, was, in the opinion of the miniſters, paying a very high compliment to the fathers. On the other hand, none of theſe pearls came into the hands of private perſons at Mexico, as they expected, nor was the king paid his fifths. What could be thought, but that they were concealed, to the detriment of the royal revenue, and violation of publick faith? Where was the advantage and decency that the king ſhould put his troops under a ſcandalous ſubjection to religious, pay ſalaries, furniſh veſſels, and expend large ſums, for the ſupply and protection of the defrauders of his revenue, only for the thread-bare pretence of devotion and religion? Would it be juſt to drain the treaſury, only to gratify the ambition of the jeſuits? All this, and many more invectives, equally

equally well grounded, were known to father Salva-Tierra. He ſaw alſo how much himſelf and the fathers were conſidered for their care of the temporal concerns of California; and likewiſe the miſunderſtandings, in which they were frequently involved with the ſoldiers and mariners. But having, beſides his natural ſagacity, a long experience of thoſe countries, he was perfectly acquainted with the climate, ſoil, and temper of the inhabitants: and knew from the beginning, that the enterpriſe of the reduction of California, was not to be meaſured by the rules, which obtained in the European countries, and even in America itſelf. It was clear to him that all endeavours, labour, and expence would be loſt, unleſs the captain and the garriſon were at his command; and that without taking this temporal command, though ſo diſagreeable and expenſive, there would be no poſſibility of accompliſhing the ſpiritual conqueſt. Of this he was ſo convinced, that till he had ſettled this point, he did not enter on his work. The weighty reaſons, on which he proceeded, are partly mentioned in the memoir, inſerted above (2) and partly deducible from what we have ſaid relating to the province of Sonora. (3)

(2) Part III. ſect. VIII. (3) Part III. ſect. V.

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The captain of the garriſon, being likewiſe captain of the ſea and coaſt of California has complete juriſdiction over all the veſſels and and ſeamen belonging to them: with the ſame ſubordination to the fathers. The veſſels properly belonging to California, are generally a large bark, for bringing the accounts and payments from Acapulco, Matanchel, or other diſtant ports, and a ſmaller for the conveyance of proviſions and neceſſaries, from the coaſts Sonora and the adjacent parts. Both veſſels to be built and maintained, together with their crews, at the king's expence: but of ſixteen veſſels, large and ſmall, which, till the year 1740, belonged to California, no more than twelve were built or purchaſed at the expence of the miſſion. It muſt be owned, that ever ſince the viceroyſhip of the marquis de Caſa Fuerte, the veſſels have every two years ſailed to Acapulco, and there careened at the expence of the revenue. It has very often happened that there has been only one veſſel at California, to its extreme danger and diſtreſs. It was owing to this want of barks, that the diſcoveries in the gulf have not been made: for even the very laſt was performed in boats along the ſhore, and with what danger, will be ſeen in his journal. And for the ſame reaſon the other ſurveys on the weſtern coaſt on the

South-ſea, were intimated, as much more difficult and expenſive; though theſe have been enjoined by warrants from his majeſty. The ſuperiority of the captain over the barks, is no leſs eſſential to the maintenance and good government of California, than that naturally annexed to his poſt over the ſoldiers of the garriſon: and his ſubordination to the fathers in this article, is even more neceſſary than in the concerns of the country. The principal reaſon, excluſive of others, is ſhewn by father Salva-Tierra in his memoir. The ſoldiers are very deſirous of fiſhing for pearls along the coaſt. But the mariners are ſtill more deſirous, as they ſee ſome of their acquaintance on the coaſt of New Galicia and Cinaloa, ſuddenly enriched by this fiſhery; ſo that had not the captain of the garriſon the command of the barks, it is natural to conclude that they would be more frequently employed in the ſervice of the miſſions: ſo that there could be no relying upon them, for the neceſſary ſupplies: and were the captain and ſoldiers independent of the jeſuits, they would be the firſt to ſet the example of diving for pearls: and inſtead of guarding the part of the country already reduced, eſcorting the fathers in their progreſſes, and aſſiſting the miſſion in other parts of their duty, they would force the barks

and

and the Indians for the more ſpeedy gratification of their avarice. Hence oppreſſions of the Indians; and immediate conſequence of theſe would be complaints, reſentments, deſpair, plots, a general inſurrection; and after all the expences and labours, the total loſs of the conqueſt. If any thing happens otherwiſe, it is owing to their want of information.

Thus it was neceſſary, that both in civil and military caſes, the veſſels belonging to California ſhould be ſubject to the captain of the garriſon; and that both ſhould be under the direction of the fathers. But the entire juriſdiction over all veſſels, ſailing on the gulf, was, by the government of Mexico, conferred on the captain. The entrance of the jeſuits into California, and the reſtoration of a good harmony along its coaſt, from the bay de la Paz to Conception, gave occaſion a ſecond time to the fiſhing and trading for pearls, without the uſual oppoſition from the Indian inhabitants. The inſulars of St. Joſeph, and the Guaycuri and Coras, from La Pas to cape San Lucas, alone offered to moleſt the divers, who had formerly ſuffered too much from them, to venture coming near their ſhore. The inhabitants of the coaſt of New Galicia and Cinaloa, who before, uſed but ſeldom, and then in ſmall barks with great danger, to

go and fiſh for pearls, began to build larger barks: and in them, without any apprehenſion, to ſail to the oppoſite coaſt, to trade for pearls, but much more to fiſh for them; employing the Californians who lived along the ſhore, and generally by compulſion, though they never made them any allowance. The ſoldiers and ſeamen of the garriſon were ſeveral times urgent with father Salva-Tierra, that they might be allowed to dive; but the father, in order to put a ſtop to the evil, abſolutely refuſed to grant the leaſt privilege of that kind.

This cauſed great diſcontent among them, many demanded their diſcharge, and all complained. The father, however, continued unſhaken in his intention, on no account to admit them to dive for pearls.

He was confirmed in this opinion, by a particular incident. He had ſent a bark to the neighbouring iſland of Carmen, which made a longer ſtay than the ſervice required. The father ſuſpected that they ſpent their time in diving, and he afterwards had private intelligence that his ſuſpicions were well founded. The father was highly diſpleaſed at it, but the garriſon being very thin, on account of the many diſcharges for the ſame offence, he deliberated with himſelf, whether he ſhould likewiſe diſcharge

charge all offenders, and remain in California alone. At laſt, he determined to diſcharge them, relying on providence, for a freſh reinforcement of men; in which he was not diſappointed.

Towards the end of the year 1702, two barks committed ſuch diſorders, that the captain was obliged to march with ſome of his ſoldiers, in defence of the Indians. Having parted the fray, he demanded from the men in the bark, to produce the viceroy's licence for diving: and their anſwer was for him to produce the warrant by which he acted as judge and ſuperior. But not having any particular warrant, the affair went no farther. The captain, on his arrival at Loretto, ſent the viceroy an account of this quarrel, and many other violences committed on the Indians, the danger of a general diſcontent and revolt; and deſiring inſtructions how to behave on ſimilar occaſions. This letter was read in the royal council of Mexico, on the 18th of January 1703; and being referred to the treaſurer, his opinion was, that circular orders ſhould be ſent for prohibiting the fiſhing for pearls, till an account ſhould be laid before his majeſty; that enquiry ſhould be made after all who had preſumed to dive without licence, in order to bring them to puniſhment, according to the

new inſtitutes by which it was prohibited: and to prevent all diſorders for the future, a warrant ſhould be ſent to the captain of California, impowering him to ſtop all veſſels which came to fiſh for pearls.

But the aſſembly, on the 27th of the ſame month, and in the ſame year, reſolved, that the fiſhery ſhould not be prohibited to any, having the viceroy's licence. That the warrant propoſed by the fiſcal, ſhould be ſent to the captain of the royal garriſon of California: and laſtly that the fathers Salva-Tierra and Piccolo, ſhould be deſired to acquaint the aſſembly, whether this grant would be attended with inconveniences: for as to the violences committed on the Indians, they might be prevented by vigilance, or ſuppreſſed by proper ſeverities; and therefore it was by no means proper to interdict a publick advantage for fear of an evil, where the remedy was ſo eaſy.

Accordingly the orders correſpondent to this decree, were ſent to California, where the captain was now inveſted with a full power for ſuppreſſing all clandeſtine and illicit diving; and likewiſe for hindering any injuries to be done to the Indians. Father Piccolo being abſent, father Salva-Tierra ſent his particular anſwer to the viceroy in a letter dated at Loretto 1794, the original of which, written in his

his own hand, is among the records in the secretary's office of Mexico: the ſubſtance of it is, that to permit the inhabitants of the other coaſt, from diving for pearls, is, on many accounts, proper and juſt: and among other advantages, the increaſe of the royal revenue in the fifths; the encouragement of navigation, and the building of veſſels in the gulf and neighbouring ſeas, where every veſſel was a kind of garriſon; the ſuppreſſion of pirates, the greater readineſs and ſafety of tranſporting proviſions in a time of ſcarcity, the training up great numbers to the ſea: and laſtly, that it was reaſonable California ſhould make ſome returns to the crown for the benefits it received. But at the ſame time, it was by no means proper, that either the ſeamen belonging to the barks, or the captain and ſoldiers of California, ſhould be allowed to fiſh for pearls, much leſs to be preferred; as this would be followed by the greateſt inconveniencies. He concluded with ſaying, that little could be expected from the ſoldiery, either as to the defence of the country, eſcortes in progreſſes or wars, if they were allowed to dive for pearls. Such was father Salva-Tierra's anſwer; and it confirmed the junto in their former reſolutions; and the viceroy took the beſt meaſures againſt any illegal diving, as alſo againſt defrauding the revenue

revenue of the fifth due to the king. It is certain, that the fifth of every diving bark was yearly farmed for twelve thouſand dollars (7); an article which alone proves, that the value of California is more advantageous, and might be greatly augmented.

Such was the government then eſtabliſhed in the pearl fiſhery of California, on the opinion of father Salva-Tierra, and this he maintained during his whole life; as on the part of the jeſuits, the garriſon of Loretto, and the barks belonging to it, ſtill continue to this day. It is true, that this meaſure extremely irritated the ſoldiers, much more than the ſeamen, and even than any of the divers of New Spain: and they have all joined in filling the new world with calumnies againſt the fathers. No ſooner were the viceroy's orders, concerning the pearl fiſhery, and the power inveſted in the captain of California known, than the divers of that coaſt, whoſe illicit practices were now checked, filled all places with their complaints: but among all theſe, the moſt remarkable was that made by the ſoldiers, that the conqueſt being the fruits of their valour and fatigue, they were not allowed the enjoyment of the only valuable thing in the country, the pearl fiſhery; when it was open to every one from the other coaſt.

(7) See part III. ſect. XXI.

That

That it was a great hardſhip on thoſe, who, by prodigious labour, had reduced the country to a ſtate of peace, to be denied the privilege of gathering the fruits of it; that the fathers taking up with the fantaſtical conqueſt, neither employed the Indians to fiſh, nor allowed them to dive: and the only privilege they had, was to trade for pearls, and this under reſtrictions and conditions unreaſonably favourable to the Indians, and conſequently diſadvantageous to them.

This was the complaint of the ſoldiers and ſeamen, who were actually, or pretended to be, caſhiered. But as juſtice ſhould be done to all, it muſt be owned, that there have been and ſtill are ſome ſoldiers in California, who proved of great advantage to the fathers, particularly the old captain don Eſtevan Rodrigues Lorenzo, whoſe good conduct can never be too highly commended. But on the other hand, the fathers have found themſelves under a neceſſity of enliſting as ſoldiers, men who were the refuſe of the world, few others caring to go to ſo diſtant a place. This always rendered the garriſon and the veſſels, very troubleſome to the miſſion. If theſe difficulties ſubſiſt, when the ſoldiers are under the direction of the fathers, what would become of the miſſions, if they were all independent?

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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